Surviving the city

The place of street children in Kampala's urban environment

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Award date:
2000

Awarding institution:
Coventry University

SURVIVING THE CITY:
THE PLACE OF STREET CHILDREN IN KAMPALA'S URBAN ENVIRONMENT

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November 2000

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Abstract

Based on the recognition that children are important social actors, researchers within the geographical discipline are now calling for more research on children as a neglected grouping undergoing socio-spatial marginalisation. Although there is an ever growing celebration of 'multiple childhoods' and diversity in children's engagements with space, place, environment and landscape, much of this research has been conducted in a Western context. Much less work has focused on the special position of exclusion of children in developing countries.

The notion that power relations are entangled over space as groups and individuals exercise power in different ways, suggests that some groups will be marginalised by, and consequently resist the dominant mode of social production. Street children are one such group considered to be 'out of place' in the urban environment. They are a particularly interesting facet of multiple childhoods because they are creating their own spaces within the inherently adult domain of the city. Kampala, Uganda, was selected for study because street children have only recently become prevalent there due to the combined effects of socio-economic restructuring, the HIV/AIDS epidemic and internal conflict, which directly impact on the micro-structure of the home and family.

In order to accurately understand the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment a multi-method strategy is employed based on a participatory child-centred philosophy. A series of oral, visual and written 'action' methods are devised and adapted in conjunction with the children themselves and triangulated with the implementation of interviews and questionnaires with members of the wider social street.

The results demonstrate that understanding Kampala street child geographies can be viewed nationally and locally. First, by looking at the incidence of street child origins nationally, and comparing this to a series of poverty-related factors, it was noted that most children were coming from the rural areas in immediate proximity to major urban centres. Through this analysis geography is illustrated to play an important role in understanding the origins of street children.

The remainder of the thesis concentrates on street child geographies within the more localised level of Kampala's urban space. Socio-spatially, aspects of daily life namely work, eating, washing, sleeping and leisure illustrate specific geographies developed by street children to create their own diverse survival opportunities. This is particularly

illustrated through the ingenious and resourceful use of a myriad of urban spaces and places. Retraction into marginalised space is a way of continuing 'out of place' activities in undisturbed locations. By moving into untouchable, underground and rooftop spaces, the children effectively remove themselves from the ordinary functions of the city allowing them to engage in their own activities and develop their own sites of meaning in the city. However, reaction to being out of place also results in spatial resistance whereby the children move into spaces occupied by other street users for survival. Both these geographies are further noted here to be complimented by street child acceptance where the children renounce their subculture in order to participate in legitimate activities. Finally, the thesis widened to incorporate a temporal perspective into this examination of street child socio-spatial survival strategies. This is based on a discussion of place attachments both at the micro-level of the daily street and the macro-level of street life. This highlighted the immense diversity of street child survival as they move in and out of the street.

This thesis demonstrates the complexity of survival strategies employed by street children throughout their time on the streets and illustrates that this is a resourceful existence, whereby children are constantly adapting to changing situations to secure a place in the urban environment. The locality of the street is highlighted as instrumental in the way individual children create a way of living for themselves. They react to their out of placeness in the city spatially, through the creation of street child niches, and socially, through the adoption and adaptation of street child subculture.

Acknowledgements

There are many individuals to whom sincere gratitude must be given for their kindness, patience and help throughout the production of this thesis.

Foremost, heartfelt appreciation must go to the children of Kampala who participated in this research. They freely told their stories about 'surviving the city' in words, pictures, photographs and maps many of which are reproduced here, with their kind permission, and all of which are greatly valued. Thanks must also go to the many organisations in Kampala, who work tirelessly to assist street children, and who gave of their knowledge, time and expert advice to guide me through the initial stages of fieldwork. Special thanks, however, must go to the Programme Manager, Mr. El-Wambi, and staff of Friends of Children Association. They not only assisted and supported my research but also allowed me to become involved in their work and provided me with a place to meet, and conduct activities with, street children. It was through Friends of Children Association that I met Wasswa Abbey, my research assistant in the field, for whose translation skills, time and knowledge I am forever indebted. His care and compassion for street children is an inspiration.

Sincere appreciation must be conveyed to my director of studies, Dr. Hazel Barrett, for guidance with the development of the research and for whose helpful comments and open-door policy have eased the writing process. Thanks must also go to my supervisors, Dr. Angela Browne and Prof. Roy May, for helpful suggestions on drafts of this thesis and a visit to the field. Finally, thanks must go to the many others who have assisted and supported me throughout by engaging in discussion, questioning grammar and sorting out technical hitches.

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1.1 Introduction

Within the social sciences, debates on diversity and difference among disparate groups in society have extensified over recent years with the inclusion of a large body of literature examining the social constructions of identity (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). Within the discipline of geography, until recently, such interest has remained largely a focus of the adult world. Little attention has been paid to examining critically the ways in which children and childhood have been shaped both socially and spatially (James, 1990, 1991; Matthews *et al.*, 1999a; Sibley, 1991; Winchester, 1991). This chapter examines the theoretical underpinnings to this research by identifying the origins of recent interest in children's geographies.

The argument for the inclusion of children in geographical research centres on emerging sociological and anthropological images of childhood as socially constructed over time and space. Children have become recognised as actively participating in the perpetuation of human existence, albeit as a marginalised group (James *et al.*, 1998; James and Prout, 1990; Jenks, 1996; Mayall, 1994; Qvortrup *et al.*, 1994). Thus, the first section of this chapter critically assesses the historical underpinnings of the notion of childhood before moving on to discuss the new social studies of childhood which have acted as a catalyst in creating interest in children's geographies. The second section then narrows the theoretical discussion towards the position of children in geographical enquiry in order to focus the research parameters for developing an understanding of the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment.

1.2 Who is a child? Theoretical and cultural constructions of childhood

1.2.1 Historical representations of childhood

Until recently the dominant Western mode of thinking has asserted the identity of a child to be biologically determined. Philosophers have varied in their conception of this 'childish entity', ranging through Piaget's empiricist theory of biological development, Locke's image of a child as a '*tabula rasa*' (blank slate) on which mature members of society create a picture, and Freud's conception of a child as the adult past, the unconscious self shaped by parent-child relations (Aitken, 1994; Boyden, 2000; James *et*

al., 1998). However, one central assumption is clear throughout: that a child is an 'adult in waiting' (Wyness, 2000) or a 'less-than-adult' (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). This image of childhood as a pre-adult stage has resulted in a dual existence. On the one hand, children are socialised and stretched by parents and teachers and taught the norms and values of society; on the other, they are afforded care and protection from the problems and responsibilities of the grown-up world.

This view has been contested by academics suggesting that images of childhood have changed over time and differ through space. The idea that childhood is historically constructed was first developed by Aries (1962) and followed up by the works of Postman (cited in Wyness, 2000) which resulted in childhood being thrust to the forefront of the social world. Aries (1962) demonstrated that childhood was socially constructed and did not exist until after the Middle Ages. Although Cunningham (1998) argues that early representations of childhood existed, the legacy from Aries has been the incorporation of children into sociological studies as social artefacts and not as biological entities (Postman, 1994). This means that unlike infancy, childhood is socially constructed displaying cross-cultural variability (Panter-Brick, 1998).

Although prior to and during the Middle Ages, children were viewed as smaller versions of adults, Postman (cited in Wyness, 2000) concludes that it was the onset of modernity and technological revolutions which meant adults in Western societies could afford new ways of thinking about the status of their children. The result was that throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the dominant development approach to childhood was based on the psychological principle of natural growth representing childhood as the period of apprenticeship to adulthood (Jenks, 1982). Jenks (1996) highlights two strands of childhood discourse that emerged during this period: the Dionysian and Appollonian. Both have shaped historical and contemporary understandings of childhood. The Dionysian view of childhood was the first to emerge in which children were perceived as evil entities in need of control and restraint. According to Holloway and Valentine (2000), this was in response to high infant mortality and the need to prepare children for death in the early stages of life. Appollonian images of children emerged later but have had a comparable effect on contemporary understandings of childhood. Here, children were seen as innocent and uncorrupted by the world. In this respect, parents are conscripted to shield the young from the dangers of adult existence (James *et al.*, 1998; Valentine, 1996a). Most modern assumptions of child protection and education (such as the UK Child Labour and Education Acts) are based on the view that adult society undermines the innocent nature of the early years, resulting in the necessary protection and segregation of children from the problematic realities and responsibilities of adult life (Aries, 1962).

The significance of this construction of children as simultaneously viewed as 'devils and angels' (Valentine, 1996a) is that it emerged alongside the capitalist regime in Europe and the United States. This was inherently bound up with systems of family values that centred upon the ideal upbringing being a safe, happy and protected childhood (Boyden, 1990, 2000; Edwards, 1996). It was during this time that productive work within the extended family broke down giving rise to the domination of the nuclear family with children protected and socialised within the home and school environments. The changing nature of the economy and restructuring of the family in Western societies was intensely bound up with this movement away from children as economically viable and towards the development of an image of the 'priceless' child in need of care and protection (Zelizer, 1981). Any child that deviated from this artificial conception of childhood, predominately among the poor, was either viewed as an innocent victim (although, as already noted, this is a more recent construction) or an anti-social delinquent (Boyden, 1990). In Western society this resulted in a construction of children's use of outside spaces based on notions of 'stranger-danger' and the hazardous urban landscape confining children to 'safer' indoor spaces (Ennew, 1994b; Valentine, 1996b).

More recently, the twentieth century has witnessed the colonial export of these stereotyped perceptions of childhood to the South which, in turn, has resulted in global strategies based on child welfare and human rights. This culminated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1924, which was established in response to the suffering of children during the First World War. This was subsequently unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1959 and provided the blueprint for a universal model outlining specific rights for children (Boyden, 1990; United Nations, 2000). Freeman (1983), however, exemplifies that these images, socially constructed in the West, are based on the notion that childhood is a biological and psychological phenomenon totally separate from the individual culture or society present in any given situation. Despite this, recent social research on the issue has suggested that this 'globalisation of childhood' deserves modification proposing that childhood, although imposed by certain biological constraints, is an inherently social construct based on a wide variety of economic realities and cultural diversities (Prout and James, 1990). Many authors (Hendrick, 1990; James *et al.*, 1998; Jenks, 1996; Qvortrup *et al.*, 1994) now propose that children are not always the same and are in fact individual in nature. This 'individualization of childhood' (Wyness, 2000:22) has resulted in the creation of a new sociological paradigm for the study of children which focuses on a child as a social construction rather than a biological entity.

1.2.2 The new social studies of childhood

Holloway and Valentine (2000:5) identify that one 'academic' consequence of the construction of a child as less-than-adult and as a product of socialisation is a dearth in the literature on children's life experiences. Instead they have merely been subsumed into studies concentrating on the home, family and the process of socialisation. Through the recognition of children as socially constructed, however, researchers have created a new discourse for the study of children (James and Prout, 1990). Table 1.1 elaborates the main features of this recent shift in understanding childhood. It highlights that childhood is place specific, identified by the cultural norms and values of a particular society revealing a multitude of childhoods. Furthermore, children must be seen as active in the construction of their own lives, not just as 'receptacles of adult teaching' (Hardman, 1973:87). From this description there are two criteria which are considered important for uncovering children's lifeworlds as separate from those of adults. This new challenge for research lies in the understanding that first, children are socially constructed; and second, children are important social actors.

Table 1.1: Features of the 'new social studies of childhood'

1.	Childhood is understood as a social construction providing an interpretative frame for contextualising the early years of human life.
2.	Childhood is a variable of social analysis. Comparative and cross-cultural analysis reveals a variety of childhoods rather than a single and universal phenomenon.
3.	Children's social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right, independent of the perspective and concerns of adults.
4.	Children are, and must be seen as, active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live.
5.	Ethnography is a particularly useful methodology for the study of childhood. It allows children a more direct voice and participation in the production of sociological data than is usually possible through experimental or survey styles of research.
6.	Childhood is a phenomenon in relation to which the double hermeneutic of the social sciences is acutely present.

(Source: devised from Prout and James, 1990:8-9)

the social construction of childhood: children's lifeworlds in developing societies

The image of a child as socially constructed is illustrated by growing evidence that globally childhood cannot be stereotyped and in fact the experiences of children are multiple and diverse (Boyden, 1990; Ennew, 1995; Larson and Verma, 1999; Szanton Blanc, 1994). There has been a breakdown in the image of the 'global child', despite the ratification of the United Nations Convention for the Rights of the Child by the majority of countries, through a rise in the notion that cultural diversity creates childhood as a

social institution (Ennew, 1996). As Pollock (1983) states it is not a child's difference from adulthood that has been highlighted but it is how children have been conceptualised and constituted that has changed. Therefore sociological and anthropological research has now heightened its focus on the plurality of childhoods, both cross-culturally and within cultures, with a 'variety of impending factors creating the stratification and fragmentation of the childhood experience' (Jenks, 1996:121).

This social construction of childhood can be exemplified by examining the difference in the lifeworlds of children living in societies in the South. Liddell (1998) argues that due to a lack of research childhood diversity in the developing world has been ignored, leading to misrepresentations of children's lifeworlds. Goody (1989) emphasises the impact of cultural variety in the developing world highlighting the enormity and range of subsequent childhood experiences due to contrasting religious, economic and political practices that shape individual societies in different ways. Even within societies experiences are widely different. Although there are many factors creating this variance, the issues associated with rural/urban; male/female; and rich/poor or class/caste exemplify the diversity of dichotomous influences which impact upon how a particular child experiences childhood.

The difference in rural and urban childhood experiences is immense. Two aspects which tend to persist in rural societies are agriculturally-based subsistence experiences and strong family and cultural ties. However, when discussing urban society in Africa, Heinonen (forthcoming 2001) draws attention to the fact that child rearing practices, often associated with the extended family system, are difficult to reproduce in urban areas. Caregivers find it increasingly difficult to juggle working outside the home with child rearing. The nature of the economy differs among rural and urban areas with the former more associated with subsistence and the latter with a cash economy, although not exclusively. However, it must be noted that the interplay between these systems again creates further diversity in childhood as migrant labourers sporadically engage in urban employment to obtain remittances to support the rural family (Liddell, 1998). Reynolds (1991) highlights this change through an examination of rural children in Zimbabwe. As the father migrates for wage labour the mother bears the brunt of continuing the family existence through both agricultural practices and household duties. Older children are often removed from school or find their responsibilities changed and increased to assist with child minding and other chores.

Daily experiences, particularly regarding work, also differ for urban and rural children. Nieuwenhuys (1994) discusses child labour in rural peasant societies. Work here is regarded as part of a child's daily routine and not as an economic activity. In contrast,

children in urban societies are often regarded as economically important and in some instances become the sole breadwinners for the family (Ennew, 1994a). Street-based income-generating activities comprise a large proportion of children's work (Szanton Blanc, 1994). The nature of this work removes children from the home and family for long time periods to engage in the urban environment. This creates difference in the social and spatial childhoods experienced by those children and their rural counterparts. In terms of street children who have severed family ties, the experience yet again metamorphoses. As Szanton Blanc (1994) notes, street children generally earn more than their family-based counterparts as they do not have home or school commitments and rely solely on their earnings for all their needs. The nature of urban and rural childhoods however is not static and differs between countries and cultural groups.

Gender-based differences in childhood experience is another consideration when examining multiple childhoods. Girls have a very different childhood experience from their male counterparts and this can often be reflected in the different tasks and duties they perform. Fonseka and Malhotra (1994) highlight this by looking at reasons for school drop-outs in Delhi. Here most girls left school to care for younger siblings, a home based activity, while boys left to engage in income-generating activities. Girls involvement in housework was also noted across Africa, as Rwezaura (1998) notes that young girls are often trained in household tasks and given in marriage to older men in order for parents to reap dowry benefits.

The final dichotomy to illustrate the variety of children's lifeworlds is the vast difference between children of rich and poor families, which are often based on differences in class or caste. The former are more likely to be embedded in the Western notion of the 'priceless' child (Zelizer, 1981), with Katz's (1993, 1994) comparative study of Sudan and the USA detailing the ambition of many in the developing world to provide their children with the right to experience this type of childhood. For the rich, school takes precedence and leisure and play are afforded more importance. It is children in poverty, however, that become embedded in perpetuating family survival and begin work at an early age. Such children are no longer considered as 'less-than-adults' by being afforded the responsibility of caring for younger siblings or entrusted with the family wealth when herding livestock (Bourdillon, 1999).

These dichotomous childhoods are continuous in nature and overlapping, with children engaged in school and work in both urban and rural settings. Furthermore, other factors such as religious persuasion, age, social status, cultural beliefs and traditions, location and physical and mental ability of a child, all impinge on a child to create a unique life experience. Furthermore, by returning to the discussion on Dionysian and Appollonian

views of childhood that have emerged over time in the West, the constructions of childhood across societies can also be noted to display difference. Although there is an increasingly global image of a child, there are still cross-cultural and cross-continental differences. As Ennew (1996) states, there is no single African childhood. Therefore, '[L]ogically, given that there are differences within and between societies in values, understandings and organisational principles, the child may be seen very differently depending on the social setting,' making childhood socially constructed (Wyness, 2000:23).

children as social actors

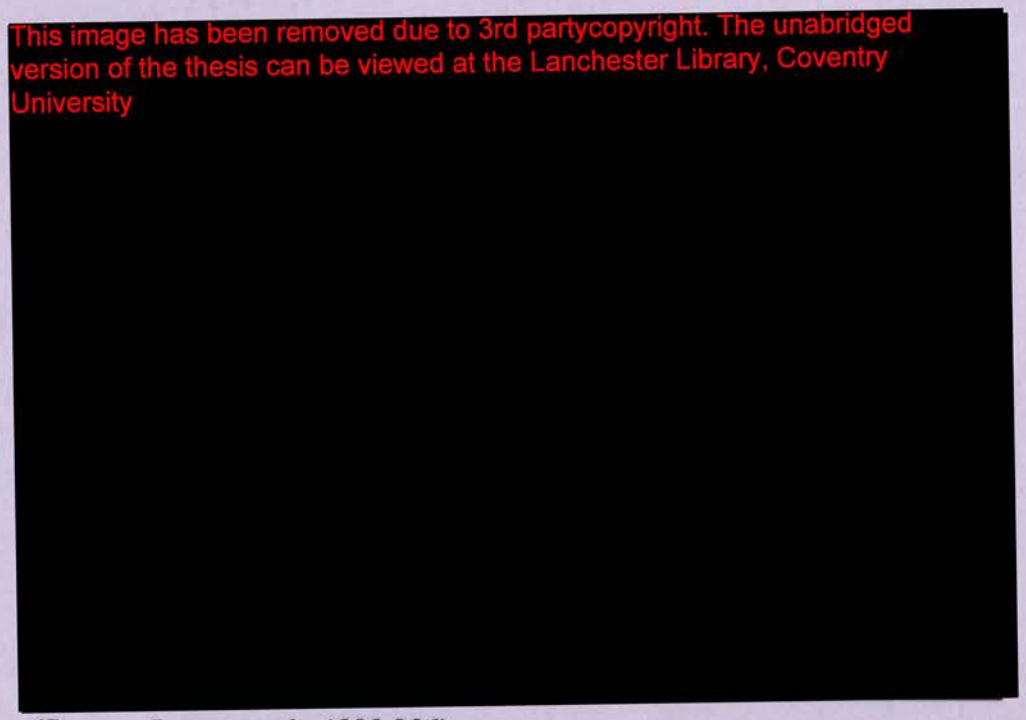
The second important assumption of the new social studies of childhood is that children are their own social agents producing meaning about their lives. For researchers this creates a break from previous work, which focused on children's socialisation to adulthood, to looking at children in their own right. Prout and James (1990:8) illustrate this point: '[C]hildren are, and must be, seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live. Children are not just the passive subjects of social structures and processes'. This recognition that children are full and competent social actors, capable of making sense of their own social environment (Wyness, 2000), is particularly significant for research with children. Therefore, the impact of children's experiences on the rest of society, and their influence on the lifeworlds of children, must now be incorporated into studies of social life.

Given this, there has been a recent increase in the literature examining children's micro experiences in society (Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Nieuwenhuys, 1994; Qvortrup *et al.*, 1994). However a word of caution must be noted. By understanding and advocating childhood diversity, the aim is not to undermine the wider structures present in society that also impact upon, shape and constrict the agency of a child. First of all, within each individual society structures operate, based on traditional and cultural notions of a child, which constrain individual children by imposing conditions on their daily lives whether that be work, school or formalised play. Furthermore, on a larger scale the idealisation of the global child has influenced legal and constitutional constraints. For example, in Uganda, the constitutional framework for viewing children in society is outlined in The Children Statute (1997) which is based on the United Nations Convention. Therefore, when undertaking research into children's lives, it is not only important to situate this within the new social studies of childhood as outlined here, but also to recognise that 'children's agency does not necessarily lead to a rejection of an appreciation of the ways

in which their lives are shaped by forces beyond the control of individual children' (Holloway and Valentine, 2000:6).

situating the new social studies of childhood

Having ascertained that the new social studies of childhood is important for contextualising research with children, it is also necessary to locate this within the major ontological debates that have so far impinged on childhood studies. James *et al.* (1998) have constructed a model (Figure 1.1) to represent this based on the four major theoretical dichotomies inherent in the social sciences: structure/agency; identity/difference; local/global; and continuity/change. Each of these dichotomies illustrates a way of thinking about children as social beings.



(Source: James *et al.*, 1998:206)

By examining children within these perspectives James *et al.*, (1998) highlight four ways of researching children. The social structural child, on the right of the model, is the image of the global child whereby childhood is a generalisable category with a true identity and based on the changing social structure of society. This is closely related to the minority group child, where it is recognised that children are structurally differentiated within society although still accepts the notion of childhood as a universal experience. The left side of the model however, examines childhood from a local cultural identity perspective imaging a child as uniquely produced by the society they represent. In this sense, the socially constructed child and the tribal child are colluding, although they are different. The former examines the structural conditions that are imposed on children's identities in particular places. The latter, however, exemplifies the image of a child as producing

agency over structure, where tribal children inhabit a social category that is their own, developed through their own means (James *et al.*, 1998).

Having outlined the discourse on the new social studies of childhood, it is the global/local dimension where geographical research can have the most impact given its focus on place and the use of space. At the local level differences in spatial experiences can be particularly insightful although studies at the global level are also important (Philo, 2000). Research has illustrated the difference in circumstances and experiences of children worldwide and how children adapt to global forces that impact on their lives (Aitken, 1994). For example, Katz's (1993, 1994) work with US and Sudanese children demonstrates that despite differences in their 'micro-geographies' global restructuring has a profound impact upon the lives of both groups of children. The impacts of economic restructuring and agricultural devastation were noted to be at work in these respective communities resulting in changes in children's lifeworlds. This was particularly insightful in recognising the importance of geographical research in understanding children's experiences at both the local and global level. Bearing this in mind, this chapter will now focus on examining the place of children in geographical research.

1.3 The place of children in geographical research

There are two strands to examining children in geographical research. In line with the new social studies of childhood, there has been a recognition within geography that children are meaning-producing beings in their own right, and researchers within the geographical discipline are now calling for more research on children (Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Matthews *et al.*, 1999a). Although substantive and informative research has been undertaken in the past, this has focused primarily on the spatial behaviour of children (Gould and White, 1974; Matthews, 1992). Matthews and Limb (1999) now emphasise the need to recognise the importance of 'multiple childhoods' and the difference in both their social and spatial constructions. At present there is an ever growing celebration of this difference among children, as researchers have come to understand the importance of their interactions with 'diverse spaces (types of setting for interaction), places (specific sites of meaning), environments (surroundings full of nature and humanity) and landscapes (visible scenes and prospects)' (Philo, 2000: 245). This section first highlights previous studies, before illustrating the way forward in children's geographical research by focusing on social, rather than biological, constructions.

1.3.1 The geography of children

Until recently much geographical research focusing on children has situated them within theories of biological development and concentrated on examining spatial cognition and mapping abilities (Bunge, 1973; Golledge *et al.*, 1992; Gould and White, 1974; Matthews, 1987, 1992). Much of this work critiqued Piagetian theories of development by uncovering mapping abilities in young children (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). However, Aitken (1994) illustrates that the nature of the methods was often based on positivist philosophies. By using controlled conditions children's spatial knowledge was uncovered through the use of mental maps and aerial photographs which set out to examine and explain children's understanding of large-scale environments by age and gender (Golledge *et al.*, 1992; Gould and White, 1974; Matthews, 1984, 1987, 1992). The results of such controlled methods, which Hart (1984, cited in Aitken, 1994) states cannot recreate children's real-life experiences, have offered important insights into spatial development. A word of caution, however, is given by Aitken (1994:32) who states that 'these insights are only partial and must be treated with caution because the nuances of children's real world behaviour cannot be replicated in a laboratory context'.

This work continues to inform psychological interest regarding the spatial awareness and mapping abilities of children, and has illustrated cross-cultural similarities in their mapping capabilities, adaptability to diverse environments and their ability to change the environment to suit their needs and play experiences (Aitken, 1994; Blades *et al.*, 1998; Blaut, 1999). However, the methods used are researcher directed and controlled. Thus, as Ennew (1996) points out, techniques applied in this way inevitably support global constructions of childhood. Within this cognitive tradition children become the object of the research rather than part of it.

1.3.2 Children's geographies

It was this narrow focus of researching children in geography, or as Holloway and Valentine (2000) state, the adultist positioning of most geographical researchers, that fuelled a debate in *Area*, which looked at the need for drawing attention to the importance of researching children (James, 1990, 1991; Sibley, 1991; Winchester, 1991). Sibley (1991), in particular, illustrated children as social agents in shaping their own geographies and called for an examination of this in its own right. Since then, and throughout the late 1990s a large body of literature has emerged drawing on the theoretical background of the new social studies of childhood but expertly situating this within a geographical context. This emerging work led Matthews and Limb (1999) to develop an agenda for the

geography of children highlighting the difference between children and adults both in terms of use of space and their 'ways of seeing', thereby suggesting that in the same environments children are likely to produce different interpretations and evaluations from adults. Furthermore, this new approach to childhood has led researchers to move away from establishing controlled laboratory-style research *of* children to using more child-centred methodologies and conducting research *with* children.

Holloway and Valentine (2000:9) illustrate that the inclusion of geographical research within the new social studies of childhood is useful and adds a new dimension to children's research based on what they term 'the importance of place'. Although this chapter has outlined cultural differences in childhood experiences the world over, it is the recent geographical literature which is bringing different engagements with space, place, environment and landscape to the forefront (Philo, 2000). The majority of this research has concentrated on Western societies, focusing on situating children's geographies within the realms of the home (Christensen *et al.*, 2000), school (Fielding, 2000; Valentine 1999), institutions (Smith and Barker, 2000a, 2000b; McKendrick *et al.*, 2000) and public space (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a, 2000b; O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Watt and Stenson, 1998). Many of these studies concentrate on the conflicts that arise between adult understandings of children and children's own actions (linking back to James *et al.* (1998) conflict between structure and agency). The result, based often on Dionysian and Appollonian views, has been a restriction on children's free use of space and increased regulation of their movements over both space and time (Ennew, 1994b; Valentine, 1996a).

This Western work has provided insightful information by detailing descriptions of difference in children's use of space. However, the idealised protected childhood upheld in such societies (Jones, 2000; Valentine, 1996a, 1996b) is greatly contrasted to images of childhood and their life experiences in the South. Although few studies have been conducted, important comparisons can be made. Robson (2000) and Robson and Ansell (2000), illustrate the normality of children as carers in Zimbabwe, while Beazley (2000) highlights the street as 'home' for street children in Indonesia, and Punch (2000) examines the spatial freedom of rural children in Bolivia. Punch (2000) elucidates that as children undertake their daily tasks their spatial range is large and often managed by the children themselves, in contrast to Australian and British children, whose use of space is increasingly restricted due to parental fears and anxieties (Tandy, 1999; Valentine, 1996a).

For this research it is the realm of public space and children's interaction with these 'street spaces' that will be considered. Western studies have highlighted that it is the rural

space which is considered most appropriate for children to locate, based on adult images of the rural idyll (Jones, 2000). However, within the new social studies children themselves have been awarded a voice which is often contradictory to parental images and expectations (Matthews *et al.*, 2000a). Therefore, increasingly attention has concentrated on children in the urban public space or the 'street'. This has particularly focused on teenagers' use of space and highlights their need for specific sites of meaning where they can exert an influence and create and shape their own identities (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; 1999b, 2000b; Watt and Stenson, 1998). Others such as Valentine (1996a, 1996b), have examined public space as an unsafe place for children where they are considered out of place. Gagen (2000) illustrates this point well in her discussion of American playgrounds at the end of the nineteenth century. These were established for the salvation of deviant poor children who were often found playing in the streets, a space deemed unsuitable for them. It is important, however, not to set children's geographies apart as a separate strand of research but to situate children within the wider social and spatial contexts. Therefore when examining a child's relationship to the street, it is necessary to position this within wider theories of spatiality. This will be elaborated upon in the following chapter.

1.4 Research parameters

1.4.1 The agenda for action

Despite the expansion of children's geographies, what is needed is greater diversity in cross-cultural examples exploring the multiplicity of childhoods worldwide from a socio-spatial perspective. Therefore the aim here is to examine children in an African setting and specifically from the perspective of the urban street child. This group of children are often excluded from the adult community and are understood as 'out of place' in society due to their location outside the realms of the home and family (Ennew, 1995). Shanahan (1998) expresses this sentiment by stating that a child on the streets has 'leapfrogged' from infancy to adulthood by moving outside the realms of 'normal childhood'. Such children are an amalgam of the standard Western notions of child and adult (Holland, 1998) with their social and spatial constructions transcending these so-called 'normal' boundaries.

For too long attention has focused solely on attempts to define this perceived transgression of childhood explaining street children as deviant criminals or innocent victims. It is now time to realise that childhood is a social artefact, and to examine children's interactions with the urban landscape. As Chapter 2 will explain, there has recently been a call within the social sciences for research to focus attention away from arbitrary definitions and concentrate on analysing street children's relationship with street

environments (Connolly and Ennew, 1996). This is significant, as it is anticipated that through such an analysis of socio-spatial street child environments, their marginalisation and exclusion can be redressed by adding insight into the processes that created this position. The street child population is a particularly interesting facet of multiple childhoods because there is a culmination of factors affecting their spatial presence. They are excluded from public social and spatial environs due to their status as minors, they are also marginalised in society due to their deviant characteristics and homeless status. Therefore their public existence on the streets is likely to produce a particular 'street childhood'. Work undertaken by Beazley in Jakarta illustrates that the experiences of children, including street children, vary greatly across cultures and societies (Beazley, 1997, 2000).

The parameters of this research are therefore to establish street child geographies through investigating how and why street children create their own place niches in the city and how this is impacted upon by society. This will be embarked upon through the use of a participatory, child-centred methodology in accordance with the notion that adults cannot re-enter the world of children and that they are meaning-producing beings in their own right (Matthews *et al.*, 1999a; Sibley, 1991). There are three levels at which this investigation will operate. Initially the reasons why children take to the streets and where they come from will be examined to create an understanding of street children's socio-spatial interaction at the national level. Then at the 'micro-geography' level, street children's spatial patterns and processes will be examined in order to understand their spatial dominance, exclusion and marginalisation within urban society. Finally, the 'macro-geography' level will culminate in the production of a spatial lifeworld of street child experience to understand the processes involved over time.

1.4.2 Locational selection

The developing world was selected in contrast to much of the emerging literature on children's geographies. The multiplicity of childhoods that exist within societies of the South provide contrasts between the urban, the rural, the rich and the poor. This thesis is concerned with marginalised and excluded street children who are inherently located in the urban public space, and often considered 'out of place' (Connolly and Ennew, 1996). Although street children are well-recognised throughout the developing world, they have recently become more prevalent in African cities. This is due to the combined effects of socio-ecoomic restructuring, the HIV/AIDS epidemic and internal conflicts which directly impact on the micro situation of the home and family (Harper and Marcus, 2000). Uganda was considered an interesting case study given that poverty and social upheaval, associated with civil war and the AIDS epidemic, have resulted in a sharp rise in the street

child population in the last ten years. It is anticipated therefore that within the country street childhood will be determined by a culmination of these factors, which in turn will affect each street child's spatiality as produced on the urban landscape. Kampala was selected for closer examination within the country due to its status as the most populous urban centre and capital city (see Figure 1.2 for locational position).

Finally, it is important to mention that the nature of conducting research abroad means that research clearance and links with collaborating institutions are often necessary. The added advantage of selecting Kampala as a case study was based on research connections between Coventry University's African Studies Centre and Makerere University's Human Rights and Peace Centre at the Faculty of Law. This link was necessary for obtaining Ugandan Government research clearance and was clearly influential in the decision to undertake research in Kampala. Furthermore, extensive literature searches and collaborative links established that previously, and currently, few academic studies were being conducted with Kampala street children. Prior to fieldwork being undertaken, contact with local, national and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Kampala confirmed the usefulness and validity of the project.

1.4.3 Research aims and objectives

In order to define the research parameters, four aims were developed and are reflected in the research strategy. The are in chronological order as they are intended to follow one another through the process of discovering Kampala street child geographies. They are as follows:

1. To investigate, socially and spatially, the reasons why children take to the streets in Uganda.
2. To establish and investigate street children's use of space and place in Kampala.
3. To determine the relationship between street children and other street users with respect to the effects on their socio-spatial survival strategies.
4. To examine street children's interaction with, and changing use of, urban public space over time.

In order to carry out these aims several objectives were positioned in the study and the research was divided into a series of phases. The initial phase encompassed a thorough literature review and conceptual theorisation stage, prior to undertaking fieldwork, in order to position the research within a wider framework. During this phase the importance of developing and implementing an appropriate methodology became apparent. This was

central in engaging with a child-centred philosophy for this research. Once in the field, familiarisation comprised the bulk of the second phase both with the children and their environments. This was seen as essential not only for identifying street children but also in developing an awareness of the environments under study and the actors involved in shaping those environments. This phase further informed the methodology by creating an awareness regarding the adaptation of methods to the specific needs and perspectives of the children involved. The third phase sought to embark on an investigative period whereby secondary information and quantitative information were gathered concerning the reasons for the existence of such a childhood. Phase four involved the collection of in-depth qualitative information from children regarding their environments. Phase five involved follow-up work, based on the findings of phase four. This was with 'significant others' involved in constraining or encouraging street children's socio-spatial use of the urban fabric through interviews and questionnaires. Finally, phase six resulted in the analysis and interpretation of the data.

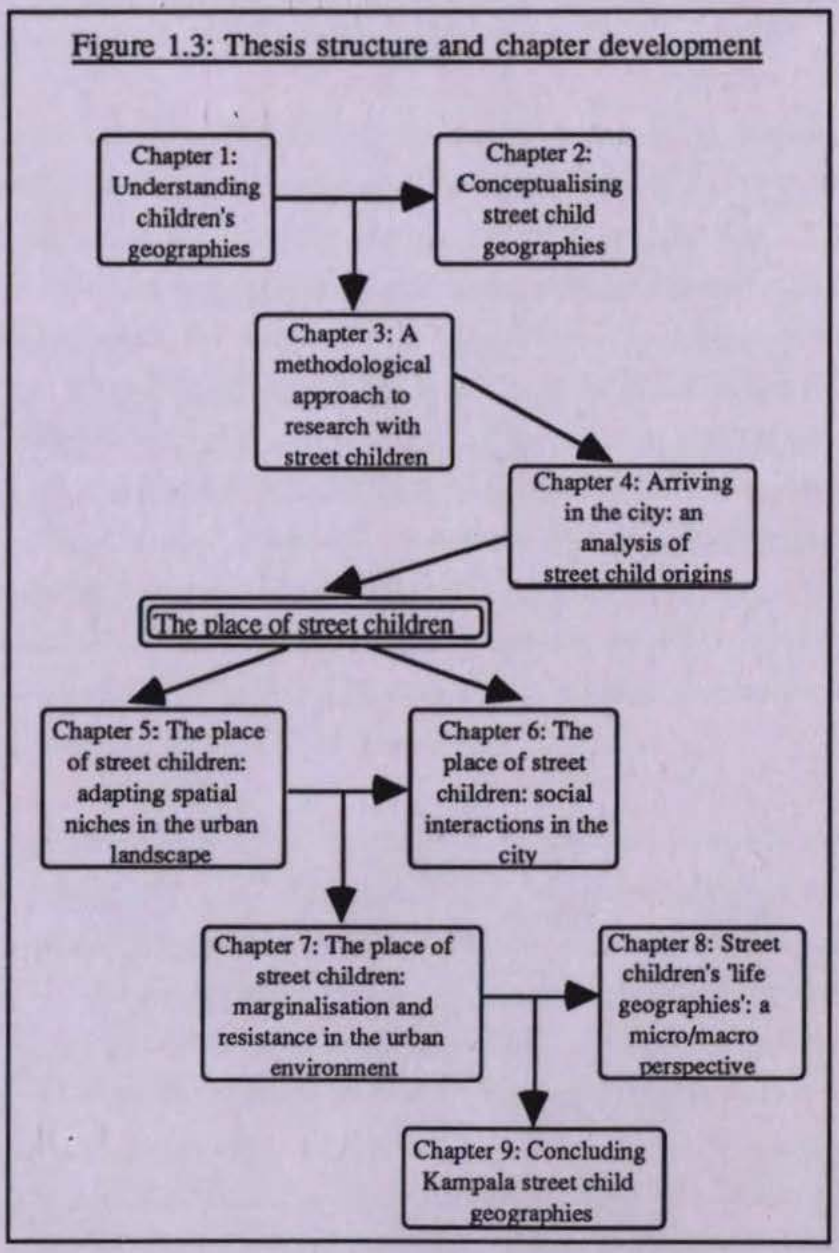
1.4.4 Thesis structure

Figure 1.3 displays the construction of the thesis into chapters showing the relationships in diagrammatical form. Chapter 2 conceptualises 'street childhood' in Kampala by first reviewing the literature on street children across the developing world, discussing the debates on definitions, causes and consequences of street life. This is then amalgamated with theories of spatial exclusion and resistance to explain the nature of the street as a public space and how this is used by different societal groups. Added to this is a discussion on children's use of the street and whether street children are out of place there. These sections are then drawn together in a framework designed to conceptualise street childhood both socially and spatially.

Chapter 3 embarks on a discussion of the methodology employed in the research. This is informed by the theoretical discussion of children as socially constructed and competent social actors. Therefore the chapter considers the added impact of developing child-led and child-centred techniques. Participatory techniques are discussed in detail with particular reference to children as participants in an urban setting. This develops into an explanatory account of the methods used and issues central to the ethics of working with children in a cross-cultural setting. This includes issues of researcher acceptability, positionality, consent, access and the research arena. These methodological problems are bound up with the process of conducting the research and as such cannot be separated, but their complimentary status ensues as the discussion develops. Also entwined here are the solutions and strategies employed to overcome such difficulties in order to obtain valid and reliable data. The chapter ends with an overview of the analytical tools used and

the processes undertaken prior to the writing up of the research. This is central to fully understanding the perspective taken and the outcomes produced.

Figure 1.3: Thesis structure and chapter development



Chapter 4, although numerically chronological, is off-set in the diagram as it provides a contextual discussion thereby setting the scene for the development and conduct of the research. The focus of this chapter is two-fold. The initial section looks at the historical emergence and the contemporary development of the Ugandan street child population. Secondly, the chapter discusses the political and socio-economic parameters within which street children have emerged and the macro forces operating within the country likely to affect the perpetuation of street children. This covers issues such as insurgency in the Northern and Western regions; rapid expansion of the South-Eastern urban belt; Economic Structural Adjustment packages; and the explosion of the AIDS epidemic along the main trade routes and Lakeshore area. The chapter then moves on to analyse

the origins of Kampala's street children in conjunction with these wider structural forces that are impacting upon the country and ultimately the lives of children. The aim is to understand street children at the national level, by developing an understanding of the forces that influence some children to take to the streets.

The remainder of the thesis is based on the empirical findings regarding the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment. Chapter 5 begins with an examination of the relationship between street children and street space at the daily level. This illuminates their interaction with the environment to fulfil basic survival and social needs. Beginning with male street children, the discussion highlights the way pre-adolescent and adolescent boys shape the cityscape differently, and over time, in order to develop spaces for working; subsistence; washing and bathing; sleeping; and leisure activities. Their ingenuity and resourcefulness are highlighted. This chapter then moves on to discuss the very different ways that street girls shape their environmental surroundings and use urban niches to supplement their survival strategies. The chapter concludes by examining the convergence and divergence of street children's interactions with, and use of, space and although recognising the individuality of the children, attempts to draw their experiences together for a deeper understanding of daily life on the streets.

Chapter 6, together with Chapter 5, creates an understanding of both spatial and social influences on a street child's use of the street. Thus, Chapter 6 follows a similar structure although the focus is different. Here street children's use of space is considered with respect to the social relationships which impact upon their lives. These relationships are discussed through an examination of work; sustenance; washing; sleep; and leisure-based relationships. Following this, there is an examination of children's interactions with each other and how this changes depending on the age and gender of the children involved. Together, Chapters 5 and 6 inform the analytical discussion which follows in the ensuing chapter.

Chapter 7 examines street children's image of the cityscape. The interpretation then moves on to analyse how they realise survival by interacting with the environment and creating their own urban niches through their acceptance of, and reaction to, being 'out of place' in the city. Their spatial resistance to the dominant social mode of production is highlighted in the niches they create for themselves within the margins of the city environment and how different spaces hold significance for particular activities. Marginalisation and exclusion from urban society is discussed highlighting street children's use of particular spaces such as 'untouchable spaces', 'underground spaces', 'hidden spaces' and 'rooftop spaces' in an effort to seek out survival in a hostile environment. Resistance, however, is noted in street children's encroachment into public

areas and, particularly under the cover of darkness, when the dominant commercial and business functions of the city fall dormant. In this way street children begin successfully to resist their peripheral position and dominate the urban landscape both socially and spatially.

Chapter 8 then illustrates the expansion of street childhood through time by developing 'life geographies' of the socio-spatial experience of a full-time street child in Kampala city centre from inception to termination. The different spaces occupied by children change as they develop through pre-adolescence to adulthood and as their spatial world changes and diversifies. The first half of the chapter looks at 'micro-geographies' and how day-to-day changes such as illness and divergent power relations shape and inform street child geographies. The chapter then moves on to examine the factors influencing street child 'macro-geographies' illustrating how differences over seasons, years and life-stages are juxtaposed with the interventions of NGOs and government programmes in order to understand the changes that occur within the socio-spatial environment. This is examined from the perspective of ascertaining more appropriate methods of assistance and to discover the outcomes of a life on the streets.

Finally, Chapter 9 concludes the thesis by re-positioning the place of street children in Kampala. By returning to the conceptualisation in Chapter 2, the initial section examines the implications of the study for informing the wider theoretical debates and informing street child policy in Uganda. It is not the intention to make policy recommendations, only to discuss existing structures in light of the foregoing discussion. The second section draws on the discussion in previous chapters to highlight new areas of research.

1.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has set out to contextualise the research project by outlining the theoretical underpinnings of the position of children in society and within geographical research. This began by historically tracing theories of childhood before illuminating the recent sociological understanding of childhood as a social construction and children as social actors. This position has been incorporated into contemporary research with children in geography. Much of this work, however, has focused on children in a Western context, highlighting a dearth in the literature on children's geographies in other societies, and particularly research with children as a neglected and marginalised social group (Matthews and Limb, 1999). Although many of the themes highlighted will be drawn upon in ensuing chapters, the intent here was to provide an understanding of the background to the research. The remainder of the chapter outlined the research parameters, aims and objectives and explained the structure of the thesis.

2: Conceptualising street child geographies

2.1 Introduction

Having ascertained the relevance of the new social studies of childhood for understanding children's geographies, this chapter seeks to focus on street children as experiencing particular childhoods and to construct a conceptualisation of their geographies. As Hecht (1995:58) states: 'the alliance of street and child into a compound noun suggests that the child's location is so peculiar that it becomes a telltale mark of 'identity''. This statement proposes that the 'place' of street children in the city is of utmost importance to their survival highlighting the relevance of understanding street child geographies.

This chapter therefore begins with a review of street child literature across the developing world to give insight into current understandings of street children's life experiences. This is important for situating the present study within an already well established body of literature and for informing conceptualisations on street child geographies. To date, the main focus of street child research has been based on anthropological, sociological and psychological studies debating definitions, examining causes, identities and programme interventions. Although research has tended to concentrate on Latin America, more work is now emerging on children in African countries. It is important to consider both literatures in order to draw out the similarities and differences in lived experiences. Further, as outlined in Chapter 1, an important aim of this thesis is to develop an understanding of the spaces and places of street children in Kampala. In order to conceptualise a geographical analysis, it is necessary to discuss anthropological and sociological street child literature.

The second part of the chapter takes a broader perspective concentrating on situating the street child in the street as urban public space comprising of specific sites of meaning and illustrating how this changes and develops both socially and spatially. This focuses on how attachments are made to particular places and how power relations between groups and individuals result in an 'out of place' image for society's 'others'. Street children are considered as one such group and their possible marginalisation and resistance is discussed. The chapter then concludes by conceptualising street child geographies. This draws on and amalgamates the four literatures discussed in both this and the preceding chapter and seeks to develop a framework for understanding the socio-spatial survival strategies street children employ at both the macro- and micro-levels in Kampala.

2.2 Who is a street child? A review of debates and discussions

In reviewing the ever burgeoning literature on street children, and as Connolly and Ennew (1996) also note, what is immediately apparent is the overwhelming concentration on establishing numbers. Since street children were thrust to the forefront of public attention during the United Nations International Year of the Child in 1979, researchers have continued to produce variable estimates ranging from 25 or 30 million in Latin America alone to 100 million worldwide (Tacon, 1982, 1984; Fall, 1986). An examination of recent articles illustrates this point with Trussell's (1999) opening paragraph citing 1.5 million children living and working on the streets of Mexican cities; Singh (1999) suggests that 100,000 sleep on the streets of Delhi alone; le Roux and Smith (1998a) end their discussion quoting Agnelli's (1986) now outdated numerical construction of 100 million street children worldwide; Marquez (1999) quotes Tacon's (1981) estimate of 40 million street children in Latin America; and Van Acker *et al.* (1999) note that not only are the numbers still 'growing', but that renewed focus must now be given to African cities where numbers are increasing at an alarmingly rapid pace.

Although it is important not to dismiss this work which highlights that street children are continuing to exert an influence on urban environments, it is important to stress that the often conflicting information presented is based on a lack of coherent definitions. This has led to researchers digressing from looking at the realities of street life to 'defining the phenomenon'.

2.2.1 The definitional debate

The terminology debate has dominated the literature over the last two decades. The most widely cited definition of a street child (Fyfe, 1989; Lusk, 1989; Lusk *et al.*, 1989; Panter-Brick *et al.*, 1996; Peralta, 1992; Veale, 1992), is that developed by the Inter-NGO Programme for Street Children and Street Youth, based on the notion that 'the global child' is a less-than-adult in need of care and protection. This states that a street child is:

> "....any girl or boy.... for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.) has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood; and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or directed by responsible adults." (ICCB, 1985, cited in Lusk, 1989:57-58)

Many researchers have criticised the simplicity of such a definition, having realised the individuality of a child, and it is now clear that street children do not fit into a single category (Lusk, 1992). Therefore attempts have been made to refine and fragment this definition in order to highlight the heterogeneity that exists (Fyfe, 1989). A plethora of

anthropological and sociological studies have attempted to categorise street children based on a child's level of involvement with the street (Lusk, 1992).

To date the system of classification most widely held has been the three-fold typology developed by UNICEF (Bar-On, 1997; Fyfe, 1989; Lusk, 1989; Peralta, 1992; Trussell, 1999). This classification[1] begins with children *for* the street. These are children who are considered at risk from becoming street children as they spend considerable time on the streets, often just 'hanging out' although they live with their families, usually in nearby slum areas. Children *on* the street, are those for whom the street is their source of livelihood. Although they still maintain a strong family link and often sleep at home, this group are considered to be more exposed to street life and culture. The final category is the smallest in number, namely children *of* the street, but usually the group most closely associated with the term 'street children'. They have no family ties, the street is their home and it is where all their daily activities of playing, working, eating and sleeping occur, their only 'family' being others *of* the street (Dunford, 1996; Lusk, 1989; Peralta, 1992). This categorisation has been developed further and a fourth dimension added consisting of children of street families based on the increasing number of displaced people moving on to the streets of large urban centres (Lusk, 1992; Schurink, 1993).

Dissatisfaction with attempts to rigidly categorise children led to more emphasis being placed on the fluidity of the classification whereby street life was viewed as a process of involvement rather than separate definitive categories (Aptekar, 1989; Dunford, 1996; Felsman, 1981; Schurink, 1993). Proponents of this position stress that street life begins with children leaving home for short periods of time which gradually increases to much longer periods spent on the street. Glauser (1990) and Cosgrove (1990) have developed this process into a continuum of streetism. Cosgrove (1990) places emphasis on family involvement and acceptance of behavioural norms as the important elements in defining a street child. As these factors have a continuous series of values, he feels category construction is arbitrary. Glauser (1990), through his work in Asuncion, places more importance on full-time street children identifying a threshold that must be crossed for this status to be obtained.

However, by incorporating the individuality of each street child, disillusion with continuum definitions has arisen, with Dunford (1996) suggesting that 'category jumping' is likely to be a frequent occurrence particularly as children move between the street and rehabilitation centres having to re-learn street norms and values when they

[1] The UNICEF classification is synonymous with the classification used in Kampala by the NGO Network and government Street Children Desk. In Uganda the typology used is: potential street children (children for the street); part-time street children (children on the street); and full-time street children (children of the street).

return to the streets (Dunford, 1996). Furthermore, not all children take to the streets gradually, but migrate to urban areas directly from their home village. This is particularly apparent in many African societies, where urbanisation levels are generally low (see Lugalla and Mbwambo (1999) for a Tanzanian example).

The literature surrounding the definitional debate has highlighted that street children are not a homogeneous group and that the process of becoming a street child cannot be neatly categorised. The problem is that researchers in the past have not situated street children within the new social studies of childhood, instead allowing their research to be led by the notion that children are simultaneously viewed as 'devils' and 'angels'. Therefore definitional research has been fascinated with the location of street children outside the 'proper' realm of the home and family. This appears to have guided much of the literature and illustrates that many studies still neglect children as independent actors. As Chapter 1 has already highlighted, the cultural diversity that exists regarding childhood experience and the impact of children as social actors in their own right (James *et al.*, 1998), suggests that attempts to define street children are not only arbitrary but also impossible. For example, cross-continental comparisons, such as between Bourdillon's (1994) description of Harare's *'Mutibumba*[2] and street youth in Venezuela (Marquez, 1999), show that different groups of street children have different moral and ethical codes governing their lives, based on their individual backgrounds and cultures. More recently, research with street children has progressed beyond the definitional stage and begun concentrating on understanding street life (Baker, 1998; Beazley, 2000; Connolly and Ennew, 1996; Hecht, 1999).

2.2.2 Establishing the causes

Throughout the literature street children worldwide are considered as a product of rapid industrialisation and an increase in urbanisation (Bibars, 1998; le Roux and Smith, 1998a), given that they appeared sequentially in Latin America, Asia and Africa. This was in conjunction with the process of urban expansion given the variety of survival opportunities that exist in urban societies. This, it is assumed, caused the break up of families as individuals or nuclear groups left rural areas in search of urban employment (le Roux, 1996). Through closer examination, however, ascertaining why children take to the streets involves a diverse and complex web of inter-locking factors, which change over time and space. Prior to the new social studies of childhood and in line with Dionysian and Appollonian views of childhood (Jenks, 1996), two schools of thought emerged regarding the causes of street children. Behaviourists maintain that it is internal

[2] *Mutibumba* is roughly translated as 'those who sleep under trees' (Bourdillon, 1994).

characteristics which make some children more susceptible to engaging with a life on the streets. This position views children as essentially corrupted in need of control and restraint. Environmental determinists believe that external, environmental influences impinged upon children forcing them into street life. This equates to the Appollonian view that children located outside the family are the innocent victims of a corrupting society.

By viewing childhood as socially constructed and children as independent actors in shaping their own lives, individual characteristics cannot be ignored. Agnelli (1986) notes that not all children faced with a harsh upbringing, desperate poverty and even severe physical or emotional abuse end up on the streets (Agnelli, 1986). This can be supported by Felsman's (1984) work in Cali, Colombia where he noted that many street children had other siblings who did not take to the streets. He believes that the interaction of psychology, temperament, intelligence and character play a major role in pushing a child to leave home. Despite this evidence, psychological make-up has been shown to be only a minor contributory factor in a child's decision to take to the streets when they are asked their reasons for being there.

Other researchers advocate that more emphasis is placed on environmental factors with several authors stressing the importance of externality in creating a street child population (Bar-On, 1997; Boyden, 1991; Dunford, 1996; le Roux and Smith, 1998a; Lusk, 1989; Myers, 1991; Rosa *et al.*, 1992). The main focus being on the micro-level crisis of poverty, a phrase coined by Bar-On (1997) to describe the debilitating family environment whereby adults in the household fail to cope with creating adequate living arrangements for their children (see Heinonen, forthcoming 2001 for an Ethiopian example). Dallape (1996) and Matchinda (1999) from work in Africa, and Connolly (1990) from work in Latin America, highlight a number of aspects of this crisis of family poverty. This leads to weakening, disintegration and breakdown of family life in which fathers, in particular, tend to leave or totally abandon their families and, in turn, may result in children taking to the streets. Boyden (1991) relates this to a 'culture of poverty' which, coupled with the relaxation of traditional marriage, can result in informal unions and divorce becoming common.

This leads on to the second aspect of family crisis: a high incidence of female-headed households and the resultant destitution of women and children due to female unemployment. Dunford (1996) expands on the pressure this places on children, as she notes that in Nairobi isolation, depression and the burden of economic responsibilities has led to an increase in mother-to-child abuse increasing the number of street children in the city. Social and legal policies are often not equipped to help less structured family unions,

therefore the desire to regularise these families often exacerbates such problems (Aptekar, 1996; Filho and Neder, 1998). Furthermore, the need for children to generate income for the family, because of high adult unemployment, means that some children become the main breadwinners which in turn increases their exposure to street life. Finally, boredom, unemployment and low quality, overcrowded accommodation associated with poverty, is conducive to stress, violence, abuse, alcohol consumption and drug addiction which in turn further diminishes family cohesion and resources (Williams, 1996). In Durban, South Africa, it is noted that:

> "men drink due to boredom and therefore they beat their wives because there is no food. If the children are there they get beaten too. So they run away.... Also in overcrowded conditions there is greater potential for sexual abuse as family members all sleep in the same bed." (Mr. Alan Percival, Boy's Brigade, Interview, 1997)

These micro-level external factors are related to much greater structural forces operating at regional, national and international levels. These are the macro causes of poverty[3] (Harper and Marcus, 2000; le Roux and Smith, 1998b). Harper and Marcus (2000) illustrate that it is the combined effects of socio-economic restructuring, the HIV/AIDS epidemic and internal conflicts which impact on the micro situation of the home and family across sub-Saharan Africa. The implementation of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP) was an attempt to reduce accrued foreign debt. The associated policies of currency devaluation, trade liberalisation and cuts in public service expenditure have affected the most vulnerable and deprived in both rural and urban areas. The result has been an increase in the informalisation of the urban economy swelled by the immigration of the poverty-stricken from rural areas (Dixon *et al.*, 1995; Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1995). Second, poverty levels have been exacerbated because of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, particularly in East and Southern Africa where many people have been affected, placing increased pressure on family life (Treanor, 1994). This results in relatives, often the elderly, being left to care for several sibling groups. Finally, social upheaval, associated with violence, insurgency and persecution, can be related to the creation of family crisis as people are displaced from their homes and livelihoods. Fyfe (1989) notes that war and associated famine in Sudan forced around 20,000 children onto the streets of Khartoum. In many South African townships political violence often deprives children of their families and forces many to leave the township and take to the city streets for safety (Mr. Alan Percival, Boy's Brigade, Interview, 1997).

By positioning this review of the reasons for street children within the theoretical underpinnings discussed in Chapter 1, what emerges is that it is the macro structural

[3] Chapter 4 provides an examination of the structural forces operating within Uganda which are impacting upon the living environments of children and resulting in some taking the decision to survive on the city streets.

forces and their resultant micro causes, when coupled with the agency of a child, which cause some children to seek out survival on the city streets. This suggests that these forces will act as a catalyst only for those children who have the courage and determination to change their environment. However, given that children are individual social actors, the extent to which structural forces impact upon a child may be based on spatial proximity to attractive urban areas. It is the significance of this which has generally not been accorded the same level of influence as the other factors. In order to accurately determine the structural impact, causes need to be coupled with an understanding of street child origins in order to ascertain the significance of spatial proximity. This will be returned to at the end of this chapter.

2.2.3 Creating a street child cultural identity

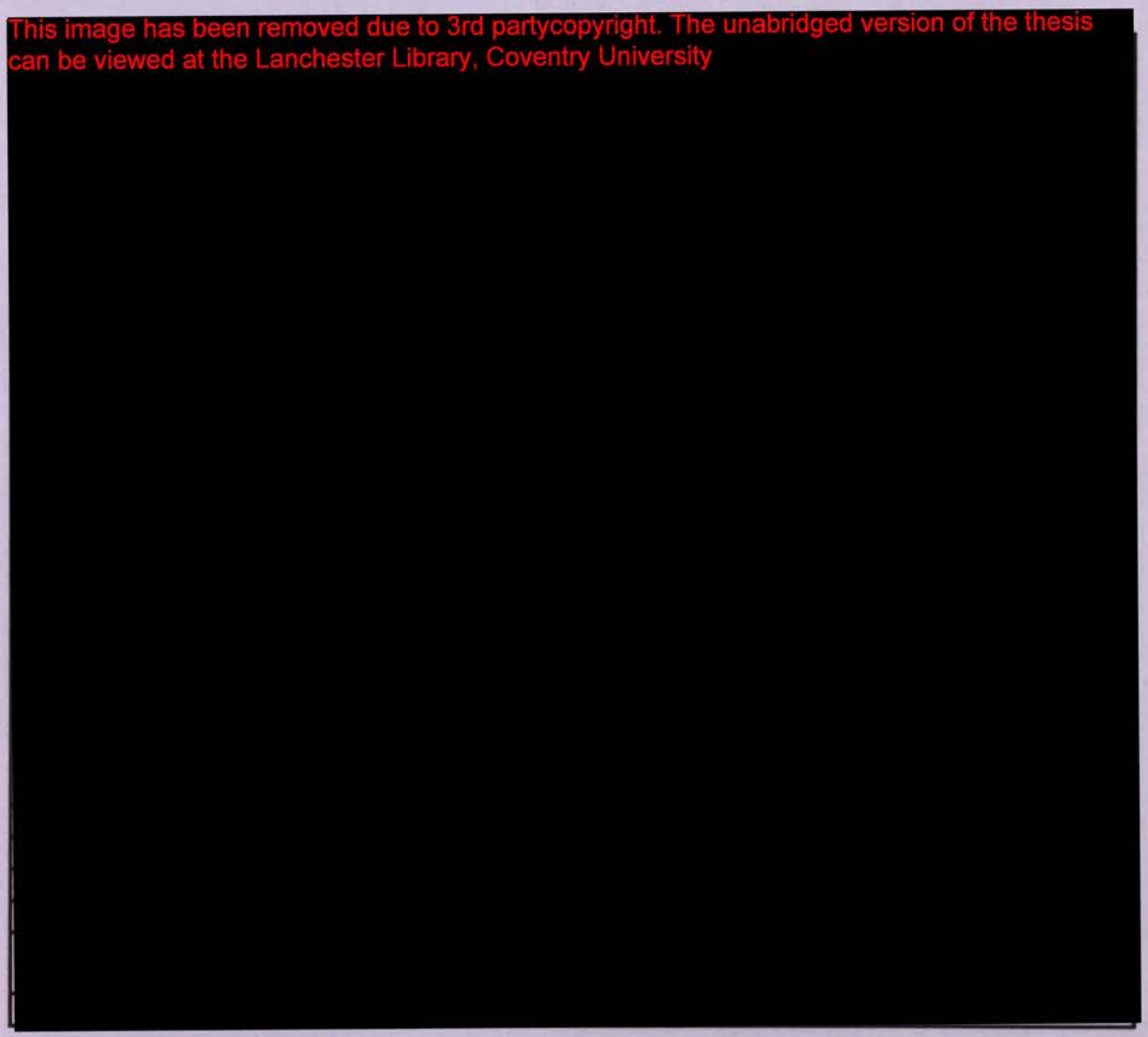
The globalisation of 'the child' has come hand in hand with a globalised version of 'the street child' (Ennew, 1996). Although the literature on street children spans different societies, there is a particular wealth of information generated by scholars working in Latin American cities, and it is from this that a universal notion of street children has emerged. Velis (1995) argues that this is a helpful construction stating that 'the street child' is indeed global in nature and that similarities exist with respect to the lives of street children. He illustrates that general survival techniques such as scavenging, begging and searching for a place to sleep are common occurrences across the developing world:

> "These children in three different continents.... have many things in common, probably because, wherever they may be, they are all struggling to survive in similar conditions." (Velis, 1995:26-27)

However, given the view adopted by this thesis that childhood is socially constructed, it is important to position street children culturally. This forms the basis of a child's identity on the street given the diversity in childhood experiences that are known to exist. As Richter (1991) states, cultural diversity is a predominant feature of street child populations due to historical, cultural and constitutional differences between regions and countries. Although there have been attempts to consolidate and compare street child experiences within Latin America (see Connolly, 1990; Rizzini, 1996), the Latin American model, based simultaneously on notions to rehabilitate delinquents and elevate them to heroic positions, is still being adopted into African cultures (Ennew, 1996).

The invalidity of a globalised (or Latin American) construction of street children can be noted from Table 2.1 which compares the similarities and differences between street child experiences in South Africa and Brazil. Although some similarities are highlighted, the majority of factors presented illustrate cultural differences. The legacy of the South

African apartheid regime[4] creates specific experiences for children living on the streets, while other societal, climatic and constitutional differences all lead to a very different street life in Brazil. Lalor (1999), despite highlighting similarities between street life experiences in Ethiopia and Latin America, also points out the need to recognise diversity in the cultural and economic influences that impact upon individual street lives. Therefore the adoption of the Latin American model into other societies disregards cultural diversity. Furthermore, imposing such a structure on the African continent suggests falsely that it is a culturally homogeneous place (Ennew, 1996).



(Source: Richter, 1991:6)

Different experiences are vast within the African continent. In South Africa, Williams (1996) reports public violence towards street children while Aptekar (1996) mentions public fear of street children in Nairobi. Even with respect to the underlying causes, differences are great. Phiri (1996) highlights economic problems as the principal cause of

[4] Although the apartheid regime was dismantled in 1990, its legacy still pervades.

the influx of street children to Lusaka while Anyuru (1996) concludes that civil unrest was the leading factor in the creation of Ugandan street children in the 1980s. Even within countries where macro structures are the same, it must be remembered that children are individual and in any given place will develop differently.

From this it appears that cultural and individual diversity both influence the life of street children. Therefore, when examining the place of street children in Kampala, both factors must be considered. This suggests that the socio-spatial life of a Ugandan street child will be uniquely bound up with the culture, attitudes and laws of the country and the feelings, attitudes and beliefs of the people. When conceptualising street children's use of space it is therefore important to identify other actors who participate in the production of urban public space and interact with them. By reviewing the literature on the survival strategies of street children, it is envisaged that links to influences in the physical environment will be drawn out. Therefore this chapter now moves on to position street children in society and to develop an understanding of street life. Although very little literature is available reviewing the Ugandan street child experience, this section draws on cross-cultural examples, with particular reference to work conducted in Africa.

2.2.4 Surviving the city

Surviving the city has been the main focus of more recent literature, where researchers have worked with street children to learn more about their lives. In order to understand the place of street children in Kampala, it is necessary to review the literature which will help to inform a conceptualisation of street children's socio-spatial interactions. The sociological and anthropological work that will help to do this can be divided into two main strands: street child survival strategies; and their interaction with other social actors in the city. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

economic and social survival strategies

In many African societies work is regarded as training for the responsibilities of adult life, through which children are involved in a necessary learning process (Oloko, 1993). In Brazil, Hecht (1999) illustrates how the childhood of poor children differs from their wealthy peers who experience a nurtured, safe, protected childhood. Children from poor families are highly independent and often engage in income generation to support the family. Most poor children in the developing world, including street children, are engaged in work, often for long hours, due to dire economic circumstances (Dunford, 1996; Jones, 1997a; Rizzini and Lusk, 1995). Work for many on the street is a 'must' for staying alive (Tacon, 1991; Lee-Wright, 1990) and is characterised by its versatility

(Anyuru, 1996). Street work, however, can be illegal and therefore children participate not in the organised formal sector, but in the crowded informal sector (Dunford, 1996). This means they are not regulated by health and safety legislation and often work under hazardous conditions that can jeopardise their lives (Jones, 1997a; UNICEF, 1997).

The nature of street work is important for understanding how street life is perpetuated throughout urban space. Three different types of street work have been identified. Some children work within the family unit and have constant or regular contact with older family members. Their goal is to perpetuate the survival of the family. Independent street workers are also working to support the family but they engage in their activities alone (these are similar to the nurtured childhood Hecht (1999) outlines in his Brazilian study). Finally, those living on the street, who are immersed into street culture, often work sporadically, often at night, resorting to illegal activities to generate income (Lusk, 1992; Peralta, 1992). This latter group sometimes work in groups as a system of social support (Aptekar, 1988). Dallape (1987) noted, from work in Kenya, that members often engage in one main activity such as collecting scrap or hawking.

Dube *et al.*, (1996) from their research with parking boys in Harare, and Chikramane (1996) from his observations in India, note that some children also engage in their income-generating activities hierarchically:

> "there is a definite hierarchy in the work done by street children. Very young newcomers start by rag-picking and sweeping the aisles of trains. As they grow older and are able to access capital, they graduate to polishing shoes, vending and trading [train] seats to passengers without reserved seats." (Chikramane, 1996:35)

Hierarchical work may be due to the capabilities of particular children as some jobs require arithmetic ability, such as hawking, or physical strength, such as working in road gangs (Fyfe, 1989; Matoka, 1994). It is also possible that jobs are related to caste or, as Beazley (1997) notes, a position of status based on cultural conditions within society. This would explain why the more undesirable and dangerous tasks, such as rag-picking, where children have to wade, often barefoot, through toxic substances, are forced onto younger, newer members (Alarcon, 1993; Jones, 1997b; Phillips, 1994). This can be further supported by Baker's (1998) work in Kathmandu where different groups of children were noted to engage in different survival strategies and older boys were noted to take on younger 'apprentices'(Baker, 1998).

Age and gender differences also have an effect on survival strategies. For example, children can only use their 'childlike charm' for begging when they are young because once they mature they no longer secure adult sympathy (Damodaran, 1997). Further,

Beazley (1997) illustrates differences between girls' and boys' survival strategies in Jakarta, Indonesia. Here the girls often dressed like boys to raise their status on the street. In terms of work, girls are more likely to enter into prostitution, although not exclusively, to secure survival (Allesbrook and Swift, 1989; Fenton, 1990; Onyango, 1988).

Although many of these studies present street children's income-generating strategies based on Appollonian visions of childhood, nonetheless they do provide insight into the coping strategies employed. Furthermore, as the new social studies of childhood expands and progresses, research within this framework realises that children are social actors. In fact, the coping mechanisms developed are part of a micro-culture developed by children themselves as a method to reflect their own life concerns within the wider society (Aptekar, 1996).

The health status of street children has also been a major focus of research work, associated with their eating and washing habits. Often they are described as foraging and begging for food, wearing rags and looking dirty (Bourdillon, 1994; Myers, 1992; Phillips, 1994). This is particularly illuminated through discussions on their exposure to disease through living outside the protected realm of the 'home'. Most notably malnutrition, skin problems, coughs and colds, infected wounds, body lice and worms are common (ANPPCAN, 1995). These problems are stated to be perpetuated by poor hygiene and lack of access to health care facilities due to cost or because staff refuse to treat them (Connolly, 1990; Velis, 1995; Bibars, 1998).

Poverty and environmental conditions on the street are often highlighted as the catalysts for these ailments. Nutritionally, children eat poorly on the streets as often they depend on waste food from restaurants or reciprocal eating as payment for work. This makes eating uncertain and sporadic particularly as purchasing food in urban areas can be expensive. The results are malnutrition, worms and increased susceptibility to disease (Boyden, 1991; Patel, 1990; Phillips, 1994). Poor health is further exacerbated by living conditions on the street as children are forced to conduct all personal functions there (Sondhi and Subrahmanyam, 1990). However, it should be noted that Panter-Brick *et al.* (1996), from their study in Nepal, could not find any evidence for lower nutritional status among street boys when compared to rural and slum living children. Lack of shelter and warmth are also cited as contributory to the spread of disease as children huddle together, particularly at night. An account from Nairobi, Kenya highlights this:

> "John.... took to the streets and made them his new home. He slept on the pavement, covering himself with sheets of plastic. He was not alone; there were five of them living together. After a week or so, his skin became whitish, his head was full of white spots. In a short time all the others had the same skin disease." (Dallape, 1987:75)

The greatest concerns within the literature, however, are street children's exposure to sexually transmitted disease and drug use. They are particularly susceptible to contracting HIV/AIDS due to engaging in risky behaviour (Ainsworth and Over, 1994; Anarfi, 1997; Kruger and Richter, 1996). For example, engaging in prostitution for food, money or drugs and susceptibility to rape make street children good candidates for contracting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (Luna and Rotherham-borus, 1992; Mupedziswa *et al.*, 1996; O'Connor, 1998).

This living environment creates both mental and physical health hazards by perpetuating the use and abuse of drugs among children. Wittig *et al.* (1997) maintains that there are two factors that encourage drug use: cultural factors and structural factors, but they are not mutually exclusive. The former is based on early childhood socialisation whereby some children are more susceptible to taking drugs while the latter suggests that children who are more isolated from society and suffer deprivation are more likely to engage in drug use. Medina-Mora *et al.* (1997) agree stating that the more time spent on the streets, the more a child is drawn into street culture. The most common drugs used are smoking marijuana, sniffing petrol or glue and drinking alcohol. These are all easily obtained. For example, glue is cheaply and easily purchased by children from shoe menders (Bourdillon, 1994). They then inhale from small bottles, or dampen their sleeve or a rag, and use that as a vehicle for transmission (Medina-Mora *et al.*, 1997). Drugs are part of the subculture of the streets because they make the harshness of life more bearable (Lowry, 1995; Scharf *et al.*, 1986).

> "Drugs make street life bearable by dulling hunger (inhalants are cheaper than food), helping youngsters forget their problems, and giving youth courage to steal and face the dangers of the street." (Campos *et al.*, 1994:325)

At night the use of drugs induces much needed sleep.

> "As a bitter highveld wind whips through the suburbs of Johannesburg, ten-year-old Moses, huddled in the doorway of a shop in Hillbrow, pulls another piece of cardboard over his body and takes a sniff from his glue bottle, hoping it will block out the cold and bring him some sleep." (Schaefer, 1989:19)

The resulting side-effects of weakened willpower, reduced resistance to disease, dulling the brain and violent behaviour makes them more susceptible to illness, death and criminal behaviour. Furthermore, long hangovers make children unable to work, study, listen or think positively (Dallape, 1987, Lowry, 1995). However, these studies do not highlight street children as meaning-producing beings in their own right and therefore neglect to incorporate the agency of children. Hecht (1999), in fact, discovered that

although drug use does produce the side-effects outlined above, the street children in his study actively chose to participate because they liked it, highlighting their ability to make their own decisions as social actors.

The social strategies employed by street children are numerous and varied. Although the majority of the literature focuses on income generation and drug use, highly visible aspects of street life, other notable survival needs, such as eating and washing are also included. These studies have tended to focus only on the social aspects of street survival and have neglected to examine and explain how these strategies are employed spatially. Understanding street children's micro-geographies is necessary for fully elucidating why they develop the micro-cultures and survival strategies that they do. However, it is not only survival strategies that influence street children's interaction with the environment but also their interactions with other social actors in the city.

social interactions on the street

There are two types of social interactions on the street that have pervaded the literature. In earlier works, children's interactions gained much of the academic attention. More recently, however, studies have begun emerging which look at how street children are perceived by, and therefore treated by, others on the street (le Roux and Smith, 1998c). This has resulted in a large volume of research portraying street children as innocently victimised (Dimenstein, 1991; Lalor, 1999; Veale and Adefrisew, 1993)

As a newcomer to the street, interaction is important for children to counteract loneliness and to learn strategies that are appropriate for survival (Connolly, 1990; Scharf *et al.*, 1986; Visano, 1990). Initial contact is often easily established as most children have some previous knowledge of street life, either from observing street children wandering around the markets, or from those who return home to their local community for visits (Kipke *et al.*, 1997; Veale *et al.*, 1991). This initial contact has been noted to arise in many instances through a newcomer gravitating towards the hang-outs of a particular group until they gradually become incorporated into existing social relations (Visano, 1990).

Once on the street many authors have observed children's interaction with each other and have identified particular 'initiation' strategies employed, whereby a child makes acquaintance with his or her peers on the streets (Aptekar, 1988; Swift, 1991). Such studies then go on to look at how street children are 'socialised' into the street, based on previous sociological theories which illustrate children as less-than-adult and shaped by adult society. Street children being located outside the home environment are continually discussed as moulding the newcomer into street culture (for examples see Chikramane,

1996; Campos *et al.*, 1994). There are several accounts of 'street child identity' which illustrate different aspects of this 'identity' within and between cultures. Dallape (1987) highlights that group identities in Nairobi are based on the type of work they undertake, while Chikramane (1996) states that it is language or the routine they follow which creates the identity for street children in India. Others (le Roux, 1996; Scharf *et al.*, 1986) based street child identities on the terms they use to define themselves or are used by other society members. For example in Hillbrow, Johannesburg they are termed *Malunde*[5] (Swart, 1990) and in Cape Town they call themselves *Strollers*. Such collectiveness is important for street children because not only does it provide entry into the street, but the group members also provide a source of support, companionship and protection for each other (Swift, 1991).

Hecht (1999), however, contradicts this sentiment stating that street children tend to be very individualistic.

> "In the street, there is no sense of formal group membership, as in the shantytown *galeras*. There are no rites of entry or penalties for disassociating oneself from a group. Street children will not cease to remind you "chiefs are for Indians" (*qum tem chefe é índio)* and its "each one for himself" (*cada um por si).*" (Hecht, 1999:45)

Aptekar (1996) notes street children adopt a micro-culture, while Beazley (1997) discusses the identity of Indonesian street girls as a 'subculture of resistance' to wider social structures. They adopt a 'masculine' style, dressing in jeans and shirts; cutting their hair short; and wearing tattoos, as a way of reacting against mainstream societal images of women where their 'marginalisation and sexual subordination in a male-dominated street life' is exposed (Beazley, 1997:18). Street child identity can therefore be viewed as a street child's reaction to greater structures operating within, and between, societies. Such structures are often based on images of childhood and how this manifests itself within the perceptions and reactions of the public and government policies. Given this, the survival strategies of street children are likely to be bound up with their interactions with other societal groups and how these are borne out spatially.

Marquez (1999) and Hecht (1999), studying street children in Venezuela and Brazil respectively, stress that they are involved in a myriad of social relationships which are positioned within the wider social setting in which they live. Not only do they identify families and other street children as associated actors but also state that relationships are created with groups such as police officers, social workers, street traders and members of the general public. Numerous studies have been conducted examining public reactions to street children resulting in a complex web of emotions based on state ideologies and

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[5] *Malunde* is a Zulu term meaning 'those of the streets' (Swart, 1990).

dominant societal perceptions of children (Swart-Kruger, 1996). The 'globalisation' of childhood has pervaded sentiments across societies which suggest street children are simultaneously victims and delinquents (see Marquez, 1999 for a Venezuelan example).

The literature tends to focus on interactions with two main societal groups: the general public and law enforcement officers. Although relationships with the public can be based on sympathy, with street children in Swaziland illustrating positive feelings towards 'kind' members of the public (Maphala, 1996), le Roux and Smith (1998d) state that, more often, they are viewed as delinquents. Such views are based on fear, with street children highlighted as 'other' (Anyuru, 1996; Taylor *et al.*, 1992). The result has been discussed as the 'victimisation' of street children. The image which immediately springs to mind, due to extensive media attention, is the vigilante death squads of Brazil (Dimenstein, 1991). Marquez (1999) illustrates that such extreme violence, at least in Caracas, is linked to threats to hegemonic control in the city. Although this is often portrayed as prolific in Latin America, Williams (1996) highlights that violent acts are committed against street children by the public throughout Africa, providing examples from Johannesburg and Lusaka.

The fear of delinquent street children 'out of control' on the street is fuelled by media representation. This results in police harassment being the major concern on the streets in the eyes of a street child (Aptekar and Abebe, 1997; Bar-On, 1997; Bibars, 1998; Swart, 1990). This is heightened because the survival and lifestyle of such children is misunderstood and street children are compared, in the minds of the middle-classes, with a fictitious 'ideal family' situation (Agnelli, 1986; Baizerman, 1988).

The law enforcement authority in a country is where most conflict with street children occurs especially when they engage in an illegal lifestyle[6] (MacPherson, 1987). The extermination of children by death squads often operates with police support (Dimenstein, 1991; Human Rights Watch, 1997a; Leite and Estevez, 1991). For example, Aptekar and Abebe (1997) highlight the murder of a Kenyan street child by a police reservist in 1994 and under apartheid in South Africa street children were regularly singled out and dealt with brutally as they were believed to be delinquents hastening community decline (Treanor, 1994). Furthermore, physical abuse is often represented as sexual exploitation (Dube, 1997). This is particularly true for street girls as they are considered subordinate to men in many developing societies and more taboos exist around their lifestyle (Beazley, 1997; Veale and Adefrisew, 1993). However, this is not to say that police hostility to street children is the norm. Williams (1996) illustrates that in

[6] In many countries vagrancy is still considered to be illegal (Richter, 1991).

Ethiopia and Sudan kindness and helpfulness have been demonstrated. Aptekar (cited in Williams, 1996) states that this is because police response to street children may be based on traditional family structures in East Africa, and not on social class or political power as it is in Latin America.

The social interactions of street children are important for their survival strategies. Acts of kindness are likely to encourage begging while hostility is likely to encourage marginalisation. This has obvious implications for street children's spatial strategies for surviving city life. However, little attention has been paid to this and interactions discussed have tended to focus on street children from Dionysian and Appollonian perspectives. These images of street children having to endure destitution, or needing guidance, is centrally focused on the 'child' status of street children whereby they are viewed as out of place due to the circumstances in which they live. The 'street' however, is missing in this day-to-day anthropological account of street children's lives and the socio-spatial significance of the environment is under-valued. An understanding of their use of the street, both socially and spatially, may highlight a street child city that should be considered and included in any interventions that seek to enhance their conditions.

NGO and state influences on street children's survival strategies

The life choices made by street children are influenced by a plethora of government and NGO programmes. However, these facilities are based on diverse, often conflicting, approaches, each claiming to counteract the 'problem' of street children. Dunford (1996) suggests that these range from institutionalisation, to child-centred approaches, to family and community strategies and national measures.

According to Lusk (1989) and Rizzini and Lusk (1995), from their work in Latin America, institutionalisation was the first approach tried with respect to dealing with street children. It aimed to remove this group from the streets as they were seen as a risk to society. In many countries, this was the favoured government response, in conjunction with 'street cleansing' (Hecht, 1999) as children on the streets were interpreted as a visible sign of collapsing social support within the country (Marquez, 1999). However, this approach has been criticised as it only serves to remove and imprison children (Martins and Ebrahim, 1993). Bibars (1998) and Bourdillon (1994) stress, from their work in Egypt and Zimbabwe respectively, that putting children in institutions by force only results in them returning to the street. Parallels here can be drawn with the historical theories of childhood as outlined in Chapter 1 whereby children were not viewed as independent actors. As Bibars (1998) and Bourdillon (1994) highlight, street children greatly value their freedom and independence and will not tolerate being 'locked up'.

Rehabilitative strategies (Dunford, 1996; Lusk, 1989; Rizzini and Lusk, 1995) emerged as a response to the failure of many children to stay in institutions. The emphasis was on 'recovering' children from their life on the street and providing them with a 'normal' childhood based on the view that children had become corrupted by society. Many such programmes were introduced in Latin America (Agnelli, 1986; Lusk, 1989; Philips, 1994) and, as Ennew (1996) states, have been 'imported' into Africa as the best approach for recovering street children. The most well known centre to adopt a rehabilitative strategy in Africa is probably the Undugu society of Kenya (Dallape, 1987; Gichuru, 1987). The initial rehabilitative response was to provide good educational, vocational, medical and recreational facilities (Dallape, 1987:48). Also, in South Africa, Street-Wise established an educational programme based on the principle that assisting street children involves helping them to support themselves in adulthood, either through becoming literate and numerate or, by receiving skills training (Swart, 1988). Despite the perceived success of these rehabilitative projects, they were still based on the philosophy that children are less-than-adult. Later developments, based on the realisation that children's ideas and needs must be directly incorporated into programmes, resulted in street educators being introduced to both deliver education and establish a climate of trust in which offers of help can be made (Velis, 1995).

Preventative strategies have also emerged through the recognition that societal problems must be dealt with in order to reduce the number of children who take to the streets (Lusk, 1989; Rizzini and Lusk, 1995). Onyango (1988), working in Kenya, used community drama to raise awareness about the plight of street and working children and to mobilise communities into action. The rehabilitative strategy has often been employed simultaneously with preventative measures, particularly through family reunification, as the poverty experienced by many street children's families is too great for them to cope (Bourdillon, 1994). Philips (1994) suggests that measures such as income generation projects for women; vocational training workshops; family welfare; drug awareness and augmentation of employment opportunities in rural areas, would all work towards raising the status of the poor and therefore reduce the number of children that take to the streets. Dunford (1996) states that these strategies must be undertaken at a national level to produce a more holistic approach to the problems faced by children in the home.

2.2.5 Concluding children's 'social' street experience

Four points can be drawn from this review of street child literature which are important for informing this research. First, is the need to embrace children, including street children, as influential actors and move away from simply counting or defining them.

Consequently, research now needs to focus on developing an understanding of their engagements with street life. Within this, however, there are three layers to developing a holistic conceptualisation of street child geographies. Initially, it is important to look at the global processes which exist within the locally specific setting of Uganda which influence a child's decision to seek out survival on the streets. Second, there are a whole host of 'micro social' aspects of street life with which a street child engages. From this discussion of the literature, two aspects to this have been identified: the actual activities and survival strategies employed by street children and the interactions they have with other social actors. Finally, these survival strategies and interactions are likely to develop and change over time. Explicit in the literature is the importance of government and non-governmental strategies which subsequently result in perpetuating or removing children from the street. When viewed holistically these aspects help to create an understanding of street children's lives within a culturally specific context.

2.3 The street as public space and street child place: meaningful conceptions and outsider theories

Although there has been a fascination with children being located in the 'street', in definitional terms, the spatial implications of street life have generally been overlooked. This chapter will now turn to looking more closely at 'the street' in order to adequately conceptualise street child geographies.

Drawing on Hecht's (1995) assertion that it is the location of a child in the street that is of utmost importance, the spatial cannot be excluded from any interpretations and understandings of how street children create and shape their lives. Street children have a particularly interesting and unique relationship to their environment given that they have a public existence on the street, in contrast to those situated within the 'normal' realms of the home and the family. Although this is derived from Western constructions of childhood, foregoing discussions have already illustrated the increasing globalisation of such ideas. Urban public space, and therefore the city street, is adult space so when children engage with the street attention is drawn to their 'outsider' status. Therefore, in order to understand the importance and meaning of the 'the street' to the survival strategies of street children, and those groups which have been illustrated to influence their lives, this section will concentrate on elucidating its nature. This will be achieved by examining the street as public space and street child place, before encountering notions of spatial exclusion and the 'place' of children in the urban environment.

2.3.1 Defining 'the street'

The 'street', particularly when discussing street children, is often used synonymously with urban public space. This is considered as the combination of physical, social and abstract space into settings for interaction which cross both the temporal and physical dimensions of the street (Massey, 1994; Philo, 2000; Shields, 1988). Hillman (1990:342), however, delves deeper into understanding the meaning of the street stating that although 'roads *go* places, streets *are* places'. In this respect, 'the street' is not only a social space but also a set of specific sites of meaning for individuals or groups of people who interact and undertake activities there. Low (1996) builds on this highlighting that although social uses of the street may, at first, appear similar, they are in fact different according to the age, sex and interests of the users. Given that the social, or public, aspect of 'the street' brings together a myriad of conditions, activities and people, there is a variety of reasons for individuals being there at different times of the day or night (Hillman, 1990). Jukes (1990) follows this up with an analogy likening the street to a theatrical stage with people acting in front of an audience of strangers suggesting that truth is a matter of external performance rather than inner integrity or morality. Therefore, 'the street' takes on a plethora of meanings dependant upon who is present. It can therefore be a place of exhibition but also a place to hide.

In the context of the proliferation of work on the geography of 'diversity' or diversity in cultural geography (Gregory and Ley, 1988), the image of the street as public social space seems to correlate intuitively with the previous discussion based on the social construction of children. In both cases it is society that constructs the concepts of 'childhood' and 'street' with present manifestations reflecting current beliefs and practices. As Massey (1994) states, places are made up of a complex ever-changing entanglement of social relations that are culturally and individually specific. The 'spatial organisation of society.... is integral to the production of the social, and not merely its result' (Massey, 1994:4). Given this, it is felt that looking at how different groups use, and therefore view, 'the street', a deeper understanding of street children's interactions and subsequent socio-spatial survival strategies can be gained.

2.3.2 Images of the street

If public spaces are 'sites of interaction between politically charged social relations' (Keith and Pile, 1993:2), which further turns them into specific places, then by examining some of the ways streets are impacted upon by social relations may help to inform a conceptualisation regarding the complexity of the place of street children.

Although the uses of the street are too numerous to review here, it is necessary to draw on some specific examples relevant to how street children may influence the street, and to create an awareness of how different people influence the 'placeness' of the street at particular times of the day or night.

a forum of public expression

One use of 'the street' is when it is used as a forum for public expression. Often groups in society feel the need to have their voice heard, despite extreme difficulties faced when attempting to go through the correct legal and political channels, particularly for minority groups such as the poor and the young. In such cases people have often taken to exerting their ideas publicly by other means. Marquez (1999) notes that this was the case in Caracas in the late 1950s when Venezuela fell into political and economic crisis. However, probably the best and most well known example of this public expression has emerged in the form of street art or, as it is more colloquially known, graffiti (Cresswell, 1992, 1996). Unfavourable reactions to such displays denounced them as aspects of crime, pollution and degradation, and resulted in the temporal use of 'the street' as a forum for expression at night when other uses ceased. For example, Cresswell (1998) talks of how feminist groups in London engaged dialectically with advertisements to register their protest under the cover of darkness thereby providing creativity and language to the urban environment and re-socialising the space. In this respect the interactions of people, their cultures and beliefs can be seen to change the 'place' of the street.

On a more positive note Breitbart (1995) examines how a public art project in Holyoke, Massachusetts, was able to provide youth with an opportunity to assess and revise their neighbourhood. Banners of the revisions were displayed on 'the street' highlighting it as an expressive platform. In more critical situations 'the street' can also be important in this sense. During the 1992 political turmoil in Sierra Leone, youths took to the streets in support of the revolution creating patriotic art to celebrate the change in political leadership in order to dissuade public dismay as towns fell to the rebels (Opala, 1993). From the art it is apparent that the artists saw early national leaders as inspirational and that morality and religion were needed to rebuild Sierra Leone to its former glory. Collectively, these examples highlight how groups, with little political authority, are able to express their feelings and opinions on the street, albeit temporally restricted, to influence wider society. It is envisaged that just by their visible presence on the street, children are exerting an influence on the urban milieu, drawing attention to issues of poverty in the country which are otherwise concealed on the city streets.

a consumer space

Streets have always been associated with consumerism although historically, at least in Britain, eating has been regarded as out of place (Kass, 1994). In more recent times, Valentine (1998) notes how busy lifestyles have socially transformed the street by legitimising the act of food consumption. Selling and purchasing on the street, however, comes more alive in Southern cities through the rise of the informal economy. These traders use 'the street' to sell their products showing their relationship with 'the street' to be based on their economic circumstances while consumers are attracted due to the myriad of goods and services available (Edensor, 1998). It is used as an urban workplace of exchange and coexistence as hawkers, selling different goods or services, and consumers develop their own spatial niches (Low, 1996). In this sense, the street is a desirable place where economic gain and purchases can be made. This highlights the changing nature of the street in that at different times different groups are seen to dominate. The use of the street as consumer space is important for street child survival in the city. Returning to previous discussions in this chapter, the perpetuation of children on the street is based on their ability to acquire money. Through the use of the street as a workplace children can engage in informal sector activities due to relaxed regulations. Furthermore, in such a busy environment there would always be a variety of small tasks needing to be carried out. The consumer nature of the street suggests that by-products of waste can be collected and sold by children. Consumerism, as an activity of the rich, increases opportunities for begging by street children (Trussell, 1999), highlighting the consumer street as important for street child survival.

a children's space

According to Hart (1979), children develop confidence and independence by investigating public social spaces. Ward (1978) in his book 'The Child in the City', illustrates how children not only investigate and use space but also ingeniously 'colonise' niches creating their own places for play within the urban fabric. Abu-Ghazzeh (1998) in Jordan, and Lorenzo (1992) in Italy, further support this point through their studies of the use of the street as a play area, suggesting that it is particularly important for children in poor neighbourhoods as it is often the only space available to them. However, despite using cross-cultural and cross-continental images to exemplify how children 'colonise small spaces', Ward (1978) tends to examine this adaptation of the city from a Western perspective, missing out the ways street children and others from the South might 'colonise' the city for a multiplicity of activities. This point is central to this thesis.

In some Western societies parents are now placing restrictions on their children's use of the streets. '[C]onsequently, young children are no longer producing the street, through performative acts of play, as a children's space'(Valentine, 1996a:212). Although Aptekar *et al.* (1995) (cited in le Roux and Smith, 1998c) state that streets in African cities have always played an important role in children's lives, the globalisation of childhood has transported this Western conception, that the street is 'morally dangerous' for children, to the South.

> "In cities as disparate as Abidjan, Bogota, Cairo, Manila and Seoul, children playing in the streets and other public spaces and young teenagers congregating on street corners, outside cinemas or bars, have become synonymous in the mind of the general public with delinquent gangs." (Boyden, 1990:188)

Given children's increasingly restricted use of space in Western societies, adolescents, more often, feel the need to use 'the street' to assert their independence. Watt and Stenson (1998) examined the use of the street in the creation of teenage identities. From their study of an English city, they highlight the territorialisation of urban space by different groups (based on ethnicity or musical influence) and show how these groups carve out special places for themselves (see also Matthews *et al.*, 1998a, 2000a, 2000b). These spaces are only able to be reclaimed as teenagers' places at night when adults have retreated into the sanctuary of the home (Corrigan, 1979; Matthews *et al.*, 1999b). Matthews *et al.* (1998a:195) show how teenagers often recreate space and transform its use in the evening hours:

> "....the local shops became a social venue where teenagers from one group could come into contact with other groups and show-off their latest clothes and hairstyles, and wait for things to happen; and alleyways and back passages provided spaces for exciting mountain bike races."

However, Lucchini (1996b) states that the image and use of the street is different for those who use it for income generation and those who do not. It is those who only play in the street that have this restricted use which produces ambivalent feelings about public space. This is not to suggest that street children as workers do not use the street as a play space or area of independence, but to stress that they are likely to have stronger attachments to the street as an important place. In fact it is expected that their public existence will result in their use of the street as a play area, although in conflict with adult space, and as a private space in which they can create their own identities. For street children, the street is their *only* space and therefore it is expected that they will use it to create special places where they can be themselves and consequently survive in the city.

a controlled space

Conflict on the street can also arise as public spaces are often controlled by law enforcers. This conflict can be understood from Straut's (1996) work in Mexico and Low's (1996) work in Costa Rica, whereby the regulation of vendors has resulted from class-based antagonism. The middle-classes have exerted pressure on the police and municipal authorities to reduce what they term 'the unpleasantness' that has emerged in light of economic crisis and instead would prefer the authorities to return the streets to their former elite status. This would rid the streets of economic hardship, pollution and crime and leave more space for social activities. Similar analogies can be drawn with antagonistic relationships between adults and children. Ward (1978) talks of a 'war' on the streets with children conflicting with adults on the boundaries between their existence in the stair wells and lifts of inner city tower blocks. Conflict also exists between young people taking over the street at night in the UK and adult members of the general public who, at this time, become the minority and are fearful of adolescents, viewing them as deviant and criminal (Cahill, 1990; Matthews *et al.*, 1998a). Street children may also produce such antagonistic relations which may explain the violent responses noted previously by members of the public and police officers throughout the cities of the South.

This image of street space being a site of conflict between the multiplicity of groups who exert an influence on the cityscape is central to Sibley's (1995) work on geographies of exclusion where groups seek to exclude 'others' through the purification of space based on the moral boundaries of the dominant group (Sibley, 1995; Smith, 2000). Although this work elucidates the street as a controlled space it is more pertinent to the ensuing discussion on spatial exclusion an will therefore be elaborated in section 2.3.4.

a gendered space

In Western societies gendered spatial segregation is becoming less prevalent (Massey, 1994; Skelton, 2000). However, in many developing societies, especially where Islam prevails, women tend to exist solely in private space and therefore their use of 'the street' is somewhat limited. Abu-Ghazzeh (1998) noted, in Jordan, that as girls reached adolescence, their presence on the street was gradually removed. Further, Low's (1996) study of Costa Rica, showed women's negotiation and use of street space to be restricted.

> "I normally only come to the plaza on Sunday.... Because there are a lot of unemployed men here [at other times].... Sunday is when women come to Parque Central, with their children." (Low, 1996:870)

When women do enter the street at times other than those respected, it is usually through economic necessity and then often as part of the informal economy (Huang and Yeoh, 1996). This economic use is not, however, a uniform use of 'the street'. McIlwaine (1996) notes that it varies over time with regard to the type of work undertaken, with prostitutes occupying night spaces in contrast to other female workers. Street girls' use of the street may be equated to the spaces occupied by prostitutes, as Beazley (1997) highlights that their position in Indonesian society results in few alternative opportunities for income generation. She illustrates that street girls, as opposed to street boys, had a distinctive spatial use of the street. Within the particular cultural context, it is envisaged that street girls in Kampala will occupy specifically gendered spaces based on their interactions with other street users and their male counterparts.

a home

Home for most is located in private space but this is not the case for all, particularly in major urban areas such as London's 'Cardboard City' and Los Angeles' 'Skid Row'. In many Southern cities overcrowding and poverty has forced many to sleep on the streets, as is the case in Johannesburg (Olufemi, 1998). Further, in India, pavement dwellers are a permanent feature of large cities, where people not only sleep on the streets but also wash, cook and child-mind there (Edensor, 1998). Sleeping on the streets is considered to be an out of place activity by members of the public. Fear of homeless people, because of their difference, means they are labelled as outcasts and excluded from society through their 'inappropriate' use of public space (Sibley, 1995). This often results in police sweeps being carried out to remove homeless persons before major conventions or important visitors arrive in the city (Wright, 1997). This was the case when the United States' president, Bill Clinton, visited Kampala (New Vision, Mar. 21, 1998:3). It is expected that street children as homeless persons will also be feared by the public in this way resulting in further conflicts with law enforcers. This in turn is expected to influence and limit their spatial choices in the city.

street children's images of the street

Although little work has focused on street children's specific interactions with the street as urban public space, discussions situating street children in the street have begun to emerge as part of more detailed research on social experience. Therefore, in order to conceptualise Kampala street children's socio-spatial interactions, it is important to draw on these works illuminating street children's images of the street.

Initial studies which included a spatial element into street children's survival strategies tended to focus on their mobility, asserting that street children have a greater awareness of the city and cover a greater terrain than 'home' children (Aptekar, 1996; Marquez, 1999). The explanations for such ease of movement was based on the geographical layout of the city and therefore movement was necessary to tap into particular survival niches, such as interacting with the public or shop owners in order to beg, eat or sell (Hecht, 1999; Trussell, 1999). Mobility is also based on the temporality of the street whereby the social production of the city changes from friendly to unfriendly or from productive to barren at different times of the day or night (le Roux and Smith, 1998b). This high degree of mobility means that children are not confined to the marginal slum spaces of the city but are visible in the centre of the urban landscape (Marquez, 1999). Through this, they create their own urban topographies based on their personal knowledge of places. Marquez (1999) noted that the adolescents in her study of Caracas based their understanding of the city on what she terms experiences of violence: scarcity, hunger, beatings and rape.

Recent studies have also looked at how children themselves view the street. It is from this research niche that the idea of street attachment or identity has emerged. It is the city centre where this identity is formulated, as going to the city centre is not the same as going to the street in a slum. Here the street and the home merge due to limited access to space[7] (Lucchini, 1996b). What is learned on the street is central to the creation of this street identity. As one child in Hecht's (1999) study states:

> "....the street doesn't have anything to offer you except experience. In the street we learn how to live because at home we get spoon-fed everything. It's not like that in the street. In the street we have to work to have something. That's what the street teaches you." (1999:28)

Similarly, Lucchini (1996b) illustrates that the street is a place of apprenticeship where children can learn about social relationships and behaviour. He goes on to explain that these experiences are influenced by the way spaces are controlled culturally and institutionally in the city, highlighting the difference in street child experience across societies. This street identity is equated to use of space and ideas of territoriality whereby groups of street children have particular place attachments (Baker, 1998; Beazley, 1997; Hecht, 1999; Marquez, 1999). Beazley (1997) illustrates this from her understanding of Indonesian street children. She locates several specific places in the city which have special importance for the children in her study, with particular segregation based on gender constructions in Indonesian society. These attachments are created to combat

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[7] For street children, the difference between the city centre street and the street in a slum area can be noted. In the latter place the child can freely play as this is just an extension of the home environment. However, the city street is an overtly adult place where mainstream notions of childhood have rendered the child out of place.

feelings of placelessness having severed their attachments to the family home (Beazley, 2000).

These attachments, however, are often temporal as children occupy contested spaces and are moved on by police or have to change their location due to problems in the area (Berman, 2000; Dube *et al.*, 1996; Hecht, 1999; Marquez, 1999). Marquez (1999:44) gives the example of how street children in Caracas move around the city searching out spaces for sleeping which are a 'refuge from the city' such as abandoned houses. She provides the analogy of these 'invasion operations' to the taking over of a shanty town but concludes by highlighting that these places are temporal for the children as they have to move on when they are discovered by the police or owner.

Street children's image of the street is as a place for survival, one which is both lucrative and dangerous, but where necessary attachments are made. The emerging literature discussed is useful for conceptualising Kampala street children's socio-spatial interactions as it highlights the temporality and complexity of such use of space. However, the majority of the works cited are not based in African societies and therefore likely to be affected by particular cultural circumstances. One main point which must be drawn from this section and indeed the whole discussion on 'the street' is the contested nature of the space given the plurality of functions it performs for a plethora of societal groups. This has resulted in spatial attachments and spatial contests which result in dominance and marginalisation. It is to these conflicting survival strategies that attention is now turned.

2.3.4 Surviving the city: attachment and exclusion

spatial attachments: creating a sense of place

As already noted, social attachments are important for street children's survival in the city. Spatial attachments, however, are also important. Given that place is socially constructed by the interaction of particular social relations at a particular time and space, individuals are able to develop a sense of belonging (Crang, 1998). For street children, who have left the initial site of belonging, the home, it is envisaged that by creating attachments to specific niches within the city they will reassert their position in society by creating a sense of place through personal feelings and attachments (Rose, 1995). This sense of place is important for street child identity as it allows them to develop spatially within the city.

The types of spaces that are likely to be street child places, and to which their sense of place in the city will be attached, must be understood in the context of the wider social

environment (Eyles, 1985). Within the city as a whole conflict may arise as different groups have different attachments to the same locations. This means that they may each establish a different sense of place for the same area. The resulting power relations operating over the space of the street may cause the exclusion and marginalisation of street children into particular niches, their attachment to which is likely to be symbolised by the qualities they derive from that place as part of their identity (Rutherford, 1990). However, their non-conformity and resistance to the dominant creation of their own sense of place within the city, may assist them to survive the city.

spatial exclusion: out of place in public space

The combining of the social and the spatial into sites of meaning is what has already been noted to constitute place. As Massey (1994) illustrates, places are created from the social relationships that exist in a particular spatial locality. The idea of being 'out of place' or 'in the wrong place' is based on ideological beliefs that certain behaviours are appropriate for particular spatial contexts, whether at home, in the street, or at work. Cresswell (1996:3) calls this 'expectations about behaviour that relate a position in a social structure to actions in space'. The structures that influence behaviour are what Giddens (1984) terms societal rules and resources. Power relations associated with these rules in turn constrain the behaviour of individuals both socially and spatially. Recently, interest in understanding the geographies of these power relations has grown with Sharp *et al.* (2000) suggesting that power relations are entangled spatially as individuals and groups exercise power in different ways and across space. These structures are linked to actions through social interaction (daily meetings of individuals), and system interaction (based on longer distance communication such as media influence). It is when individuals and groups contradict each other's behavioural norms that antagonism between social actors emerges. There are two forms this can take: transgression (Cresswell, 1996) and resistance (Pile and Keith, 1997) which can result in spatial exclusion (Sibley, 1995) or constitute place adaptation or change.

A transgressor is person or a group who contradicts the 'normative geographies' of a particular place where everything and everyone is in the 'correct' place (Cresswell, 1996:8). Transgression, however, is not an intended act but relies on that particular action being noticed and considered deviant to the societal norm and therefore marginal to society such as taking illegal drugs in a public place. Resistance is distinguished from other deviant positions because, in this instance, the actions are deliberate and intended. Pile (1997) illustrates this resistance as based on power relations whereby the dominant authority stifles other identities. In such cases resistance attempts to 'occupy, deploy and create alternative spatialities from those defined through oppression and exploitation'

(Pile, 1997:3). This can result in place adaptation or change, such as through social movements, as people become 'em*power*ed in the very act of resistance' (Sharp *et al.*, 2000:3).

The exclusion of transgressors, whether marginalised or resistant, is what Sibley (1988) terms the purification of space whereby he suggests that historically there is continuity in the urge to exclude 'others' from a particular place. Otherness in society is often equated with social deviance and therefore groups or individuals outside the social norm are pushed out. To explain this Sibley (1995) uses object relations theory which suggests that as an infant develops, boundaries emerge between the 'self' and the external world, demarcating good from bad and developing stereotypical representations of others. The representations of such groups however must be socially constructed and change with the dominant mode of thinking at that time.

Considering 'the street' then, as a particular place, it is suggested that certain people, including children, will be excluded from the street due to the common structural order of the environment. As Chapter 1 has already illustrated, the street is considered to be the 'wrong place' for children. However, the notion of all people as essential social actors, use of the street must also be based on personal action and individual behaviour. The literature on children's 'street' geographies demonstrates this point well, highlighting that the street is a place where they can meet and develop independence away from the restrictive parental gaze (Matthews *et al.*, 1999b). In this case then the use of the street by marginalised groups can be termed what Pile and Keith (1997) demarcate as 'geographies of resistance'. It is these forms of resistance to the social norm that create the rich variety of uses, both complimentary and conflicting, that make up 'the street'. Therefore, a group is marginalised by the actions of others based on their understanding of both social interactions and system interactions. As suggested, this can either transform the structures or, according to Thrift and Pred (1981), reinforce the ties people have with particular places through their everyday life experiences. In this respect it is the behaviours produced under the societal structure that will affect the out of placeness of children in the urban domain.

street children: in place or out of place

Children, including street children, have, until recently, been accorded little attention in this debate on power relations (see Smith and Barker, 2000b for an example). However, their presence as independent social actors suggests that they too must be considered in such discussions. In certain overtly adult situations, such as the city street, children are

excluded and if their presence re-emerges they are considered 'out of place' (Connolly and Ennew, 1996; Cresswell, 1996).

> "Childhood ....is that status of personhood which is by definition, often in the wrong place.... In terms of social space children are sited, insulated and distanced and their very gradual emergence into wider adult space is only by accident, by degree, as an award or privilege or as part of a gradualist rite of passage." (James *et al.*, 1998:37)

This image of being 'out of place' must be examined more closely. This chapter has illustrated that children playing in residential streets or legally working in the urban domain are legitimised because they are in accordance with adult values. However, when living on the main streets, children have historically been considered out of place[8]. It is the image of urban streets as adult space associated with crime, vagrancy, deviance and delinquency that has influenced this construction (Bibars, 1998; Waltzer, 1986). Beazley (1997) likens street children's use of space to social and spatial apartheid in the city whereby they become marginalised just by being in the 'wrong place'. Girls on the street in Indonesia are further marginalised by their male counterparts due to the societal image that public space is not only adult space, but also male space[9].

However, given that children are social actors, many have taken to the streets in response to the political, social and economic structures that have created undesirable home life conditions. As Sibley (1995) states the home itself, despite being considered the 'correct' place for children, can be a space of exclusion due to the power relations that exist there. In such instances they contradict the dominant concept of the family and use the street for working, eating, playing, sleeping and all other necessities of life (Beazley, 2000). Although marginalised:

> "the otherness of street children is not centred on them being poor children (at least not in Addis Abeba) but on their engagement with street life." (Heinonen, forthcoming 2001)

It is through their constant resistance to remain engaged with the street, that they are empowered as a social group (Sharp *et al.*, 2000). This has led to the creation of street child niches whereby such children are receiving legitimation to the point where their presence on the street is gaining acceptance.

> "....every street child has the right to be a street child ....why is it that when we come to look at the street children in our cities we do not accord them the same respect [as other children in difficult circumstances] and say they have the right to be street children? To sleep in their recognised areas? To eat on the same street corner? To work in the same jobs? To hustle? To survive? If I say to a street child "I am trying very hard to ensure that I respect

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[8] See Sibley (1995) or Davin (1996) for a discussion of Paris street arabs for an historical example.

[9] See Cresswell (1996) for a more detailed discussion of public space as a male space where females violate ideas of femininity by their presence.

you every day", I am really saying "you have the right to be on that corner", because if he or she hasn't what am I respecting?" (Shanahan, 1998:6)

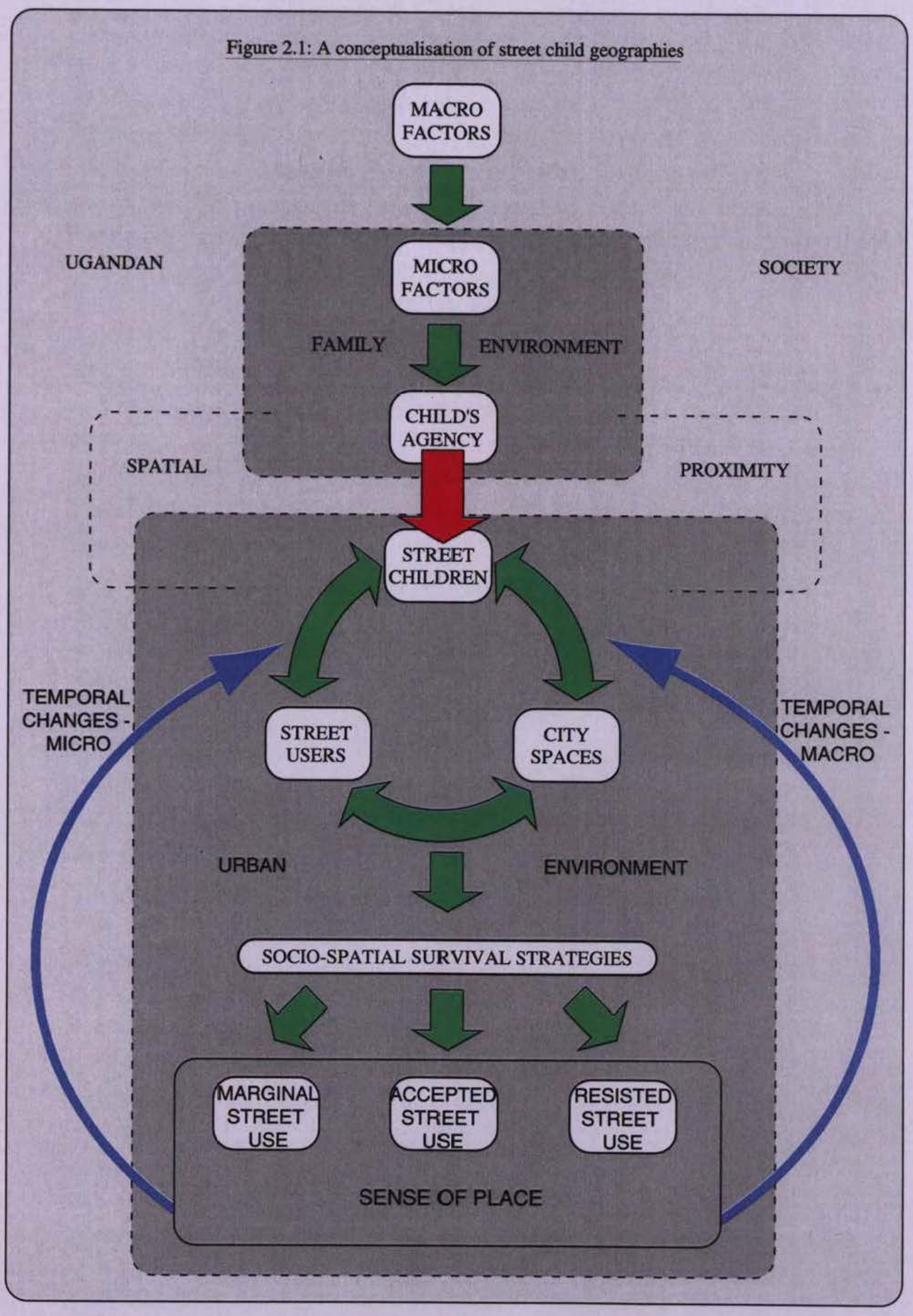
This suggests that although still considered to be in the wrong place by being on the street, at least in certain spaces and at certain times, their 'out of placeness' is becoming eroded by the sheer persistence of children, and those who engage with them, to accept their reaction to the socio-economic structures at work within society. Here they are creating their own places within the city. These sites of meaning are the survival niches which are more than just settings of interaction, they are specific places that are central to the identity of a street child. In this sense then, street children can only be considered as out of place on the street when society at large is in conflict with their presence. They must be considered in place when they are producing their own sites of meaning in the cityscape.

2.4 Street child geographies in Kampala: a conceptualisation

Drawing on the literature discussed here and in Chapter 1, this section seeks to conceptualise Kampala street child geographies. There are four main points which must be re-iterated from the previous discussion which are central to this construction. First, childhood is socially constructed and therefore the particular cultural perspective of children's experiences in Uganda must be considered. Second, as children are social actors in their own right, attention must be paid to their choices in negotiating the urban fabric. Third, the street as a space made up of social relationships must be highlighted in considering the impact other users and their power relations have on street child geographies and their use of the cityscape, both at specific instances and over time. Finally, street children, by their very existence, are considered out of place in the adult world of the city and therefore have to employ resourceful strategies to create and shape their own lives.

There are two levels at which this conceptualisation operates: the national approach to street child geographies and the locally specific understanding of their place within Kampala society. Figure 2.1 represents this diagrammatically. First of all at the national level, street child geographies are envisaged to be impacted upon by a combination of structural factors, spatial proximity and children's agency. The literature presented in section 2.2.2 illustrates that there are two aspects to societal structure which impact upon a child's decision to go to the streets. The macro socio-economic environment, specifically poverty, HIV/AIDS and civil war, creates micro structures in the home life of a child, situated within the family environment, that is detrimental to a child's standard

Figure 2.1: A conceptualisation of street child geographies



of living. Within this situation each child accepts or rejects this and in some cases actively chooses to seek out a more favourable existence on the streets. This is represented in Figure 2.1 as the macro factors of society impacting upon the micro factors of the family situation which result in a child's decision to leave or remain in the parental home. Although the 'bright lights of the city' have always been held up as an attraction for children, the geographical impact has not yet been considered. It is envisaged that spatial proximity will be important as it provides exposure to urban living and highlights the gap between rich and poor, while also making the city accessible to them. It is the interplay between these two factors that is envisaged to affect each child's decision to take to the streets. Once on the street however, a different set of locality specific factors impact upon street children's socio-spatial survival strategies.

The lower part of Figure 2.1 moves on to conceptualise street child geographies within Kampala. It is envisaged that a street child interacts with, and is impacted upon, by two factors: the social, namely other social actors (street users); and the spatial, namely the actual spaces of the city (city spaces). A three-way interactive relationship is conceptualised to exist between these factors resulting in a series of specific choices made by children to produce distinctive socio-spatial survival strategies. These are envisaged to change over time as children, other actors and city spaces change and adapt. Within the city as a whole, it is expected that there will be different kinds of survival strategies employed by children living in the city centre from those in the outskirts. As Cresswell (1996) notes, it is the city centre where anonymity is possible and a great deal more urban functions occur. Therefore children in the city centre are more visibly out of place than in residential areas which are closely associated with 'home life'.

At the specific setting of the street locality, the relationship between the urban fabric and a street child is likely to be significant. By their very nature, street children will be drawn to those parts of the city where survival opportunities can be gained (Bourdillon, 1994; Hecht, 1999; Trussell, 1999) while in other urban niches the city may be inaccessible, barren or unfriendly (Beazley, 1997; le Roux and Smith, 1998b). This dualistic relationship is then impacted upon by other social actors who are envisaged to create particular social outcomes in specific places. Although the literature tends to focus on the negative relationships which exist on the streets between street children and their 'victimisers' (Dimenstein, 1991; Lalor, 1999; Williams, 1996), both Hecht (1999) and Marquez (1999) illustrate that street children are involved with a myriad of other actors. They highlight negative and positive relationships with police, members of the public, NGOs, street traders, shop owners and other street children which are envisaged to impact upon a street child's socio-spatial survival strategies. These relationships have also been highlighted as the product of power relations existing across space (Sharp *et al.*, 2000).

The outcomes are likely to be complex and varied with street children excluded or marginalised by particular social actors at certain times of the day (Sibley, 1995). However, often children can be legitimised in the social space of the city through their work activities and in such instances children are expected to become accepted as part of their urban environment. Finally, as Pile and Keith (1997) note, societal groups and individuals often create geographies of resistance in order to counteract the dominant social mode of production and it is envisaged that street children will also create resistance on the streets through which they can be empowered and establish their own identity or sense of place in the city. This is conceptualised to result in establishing their 'place' in Kampala's urban environment. The temporality of the street, however, must not be overlooked (Cresswell, 1996) as it is envisaged that these relationships will not only alter over space, but also over time, particularly as greater structural forces also come into play. The survival strategies produced will therefore not only vary over the city but also throughout the day and across each child's life on the streets. Therefore, the interplay between a child, the environment and other actors on the street is conceptualised to vary both over time and space resulting in the production of a myriad of complex street child geographies.

2.5 Chapter summary

Street children and the street have been the main focus of this chapter. Anthropological, sociological and psychological studies have dominated the literature and therefore have been discussed in relation to the aims of this study for informing a conceptualisation of street child geographies in Kampala. Although the definitional debate has tended to stifle street child research in the past, more recent work has begun to concentrate on their lifeworlds. Although many of these studies have tended to view children as innocent victims or deviant criminals, there are several aspects which were important for contextualising this study. Street children were reviewed as a product of greater structural forces impacting upon society as a whole creating an overarching condition of poverty for many families. Through hardship and subsequent problems of family crisis, it was noted that some children seek out a better existence in the cities. Once on the streets the lifeworld of a street child was discussed as being based on employing particular social survival strategies, often borne out through relationships with other street users. Survival is not only linked to income generation through legal and illegal activities, but also to escapist strategies such as drug use and avoiding antagonistic confrontations, for example with the police or members of the public. However, it was noted that cultural considerations must be highlighted as 'the street child experience' within Africa and Latin America will be different.

Noting that street children's geographical experience had mostly been overlooked in the literature, the second part of the chapter went on to examine 'the street'. As urban public space, the street was identified as being made up of places based on specific social interactions and relationships. Some examples, derived from the literature to be particularly important for street children, were discussed ending with an examination of their image of the street. This was then discussed in terms of spatial inclusion and spatial exclusion looking at how individuals and groups create place attachments and develop their own sense of place. However, given that the street means different things to different people, these attachments result in an interplay of power relations which can result in some groups being excluded or having to resist the dominant power to establish their place in society.

The chapter ends by drawing these two literatures together with those discussed in Chapter 1, on childhood and children's geographies, to conceptualise the nature of street child geographies in Kampala, Uganda. It is envisaged that there are two levels at which this can be constructed. At the national societal level, the relationship between the socio-economic environment, the home environment, the agency of a child, and spatial proximity to the rich/poor gap in the city, is expected to produce particular circumstances in which some children take to the streets. Once on the streets, the conceptualisation highlighted three inter-locking relationships which will ultimately determine the socio-spatial survival strategies of street children. The interactions between children themselves, the urban fabric and other social actors in the street are likely to result in the temporal geographies of acceptance, exclusion and marginalisation of street children, and therefore subsequent resistance. The literature and ensuing conceptualisation informed the methodology used, which is discussed in Chapter 3.

3: A methodological approach to research with street children

3.1 Introduction

The theoretical position outlined in the previous chapters illustrates four fundamental components important for informing the research methodology. First, childhood as a social, and therefore cultural, construction makes it important to investigate secondary sources in order to correctly situate the research (Pratt and Loizos, 1992). Second, children as essential social actors must be encouraged to have full participation in the research process, which should be child-led rather than researcher imposed. Third, the importance of the street in determining socio-spatial geographies suggests that visual methods play a central role in determining street children's use of space. Finally, interactions with other street users must be considered. These relationships are central to how children are viewed and therefore treated on the street suggesting that it would be appropriate to include the views of other street users as well as those of children. In order to adequately address all these key issues a multi-method approach was adopted

This chapter will begin by explaining the merits of using a multi-method approach before moving on to look specifically at children's methodologies and the importance of children's participation in the research process. The chapter then moves on to examine issues of research design. This explores the identification of participants and discusses the stages of the methodology focusing in particular on developing an appropriate research strategy. Following this, the methods devised and used for this research are discussed and reviewed in terms of their advantages and disadvantages. The chapter then critiques children's research methodology in terms of practical and ethical considerations specific to working with street children in a cross-cultural setting. Finally, before drawing to a conclusion, the methods used with other street users are discussed. Although children were not the only population involved their ideas, impressions and behaviours constituted the greatest proportion of the research. Given this, and the unique circumstances that are created when researching children, much of this chapter will concentrate on conducting research with children.

3.2 Adopting a multi-method approach

> "Human beings are not like the objects of physical science and therefore cannot be quantified.... human action is concerned with meaning, reasons, intentions and understandings

and this, therefore, is an interpretative matter rather than a phenomenon subject to causal explanation...." (Acroyd and Hughes, 1992:29)

This statement highlights the importance of recognising the expertise and abilities of local people when undertaking research, particularly in a cross-cultural setting. This is the central principle of participatory research and was incorporated into Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), a methodological approach comprising a plethora of methods designed to allow local people to devise, implement and analyse their own projects, through a process of facilitation and empowerment (Chambers, 1994a, 1994b; Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995). The complimentary range of methods to this philosophy offer flexibility and triangulation within the research process and are constantly updated and adapted to suit local needs and individual research projects. The result has been a move away from a 'blueprint' approach to research and the metamorphosis of participatory research to suit a diverse range of uses and individuals (Chambers, 1994a; Kapila and Lyon, 1994).

Based on this, several advantages to the use of multi-method approaches can be illuminated. First, bias, inherent in data sources, investigators and methods, can be neutralised by triangulating a multiplicity of techniques (Cresswell, 1994; Robson, 1993). Second, multi-method research can be used for complementary purposes whereby the use of several techniques is employed to examine research questions which involve researching different groups, or that require different analysis, within a single topic (Brewer and Hunter, 1990). Lucchini (1996a) highlights the importance of this for avoiding the errors of an anecdotal approach. This was particularly important in this research with respect to understanding street children's socio-spatial experiences. For comparative purposes, it was important to represent the views of the other street users, as well as those of the children, and this could not be achieved by employing the same methods and strategies. Third, the use of a variety of methods can enhance interpretability of the research. For example, a general questionnaire survey may be clarified by the use of a qualitative in-depth narrative or visual account (Ennew, 1994a). Finally, different techniques can be used to assess the plausibility of threats to research validity particularly as street children are known to fabricate answers if involved in surveys of any description (Ennew, 1994a; Lucchini, 1996a; Robson, 1993). For these reasons a participatory multi-method approach was adopted. However, given that the majority of this research involved the children themselves, this chapter will move to discuss the methodological theory employed for specifically working with children.

3.3 Children's methodologies

3.3.1 The need for adapting methods for children

Methodologically there are special concerns when researching children as '[A]propriate research strategies, in both methodological and ethical senses, need to be thought through very carefully' (Sibley, 1991:270). Further, given that children are considered as important social actors in their own right, employing traditional social science research methods would not be useful as they view children as objects of research rather than active participants (Beers, 1996). They are undesirable for obtaining a meaningful construction of a child's social, spatial and temporal reality in that questionnaires and structured interviews generalise and therefore only provide a superficial view of children's circumstances. These methods are often based on positivist philosophies using surveys for generating large quantities of statistical data.

Baker *et al.* (1996) point out that this approach has three major faults with respect to children: namely the authoritative stance of researchers; the inappropriateness of questions to the real life experiences of children; and as children often attempt to please adults, inaccurate results due to the manipulation of the answers given. This view can be supported by work undertaken in Ethiopia. Kefyalew (1996:203) noted that traditional surveys, which tend to be used by street child programmes, often have disastrous outcomes as children's responses tend to be a result of 'leading, probing, hypothetical and irrelevant questions'. Therefore these methods have rarely enabled children to have any input into the research design and process, thus highlighting issues of reflexivity and participation, given the difficulties adults have in engaging with the world of children (James, 1990, 1991; Sibley, 1991).

In response, attempts have been made to make research techniques more child-friendly, particularly in psychology, through the adaptation of qualitative interview techniques. Several factors resulting from this literature highlight the need for adapting interviews and discussions when used with children. Some revised methods include: the use of visual stimuli to help a child's expression (Saywitz and Synder, 1996); generating rapport to avoid children answering with the perceived 'correct' answer (Peterson and Biggs, 1997); using peer support to aid recall about specific events in an interview (Greenstock and Pipe, 1996); maintaining age sensitivity as children perform much better when groups have only one or two years age difference (Charlesworth and Rodwell, 1997); and with regard to focus groups, the optimum size for eliciting discussion and keeping control is suggested to be around five to six participants (Hoppe *et al.*, 1995). However, if the full

implications of childhood as diverse and socially constructed are to be considered, then what must be borne in mind is the role of children as active, meaning-producing beings and not as a construction of an adult reality (Prout and James, 1990). This suggests that there must be a call for methods that emphasise the importance of the self-representation of children and their greater participation in the research process.

3.3.2 Child-centred, participatory methods with children

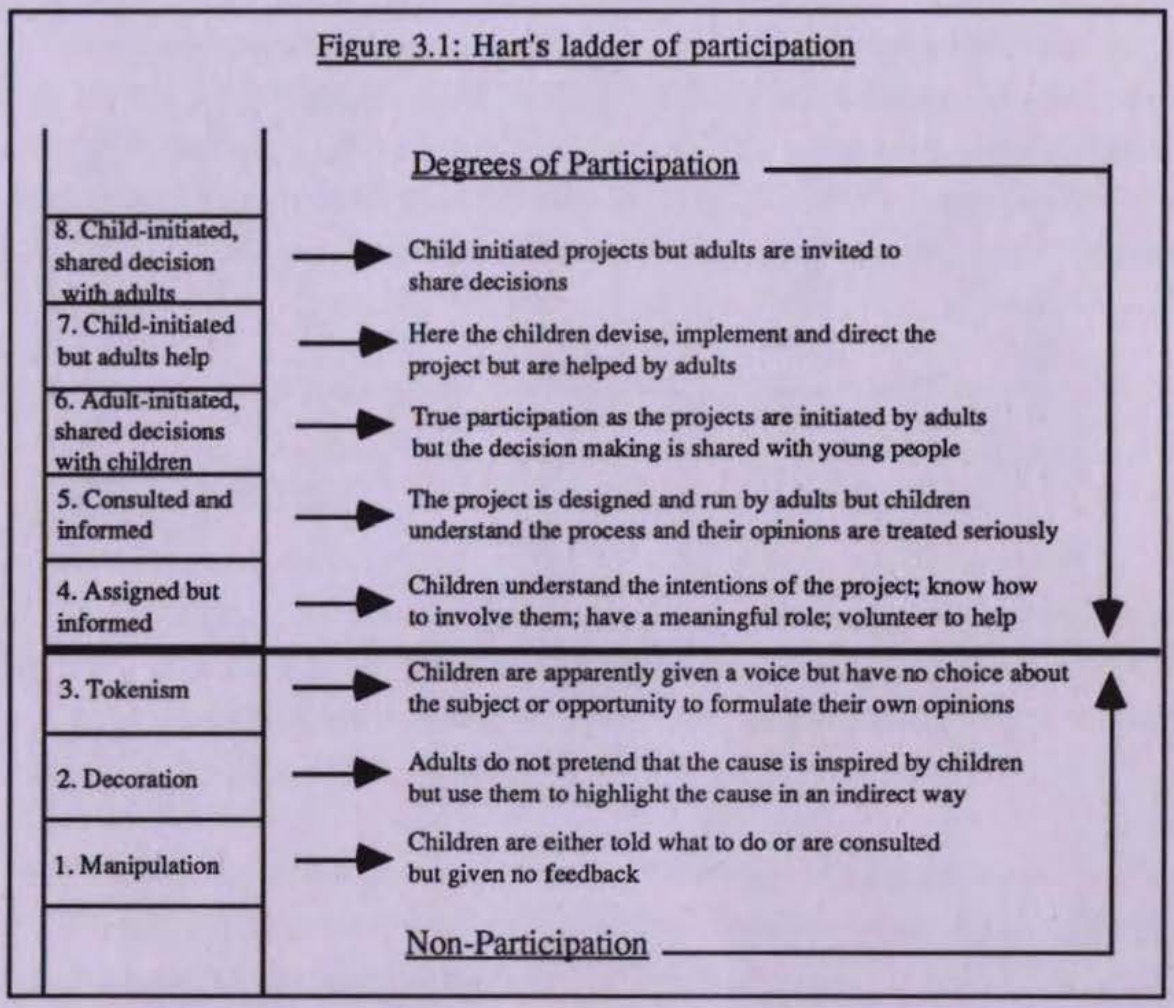
The need for children's participation in research grew out of the wider participatory philosophy mentioned above. Although developed initially for rural communities, the basic premise has been easily modified for use with other groups including urban populations (IIED, 1994) and children (Boyden and Ennew, 1997; IDS, 1996; IIED, 1996; Johnson *et al.*, 1994). As Holloway and Valentine (2000) illustrate, it is with the emergence of the view that children are competent social actors, that there has been a call for child-centredness in research. Beers (1996) and Johnson *et al.*, (1994) both state that understanding the needs and experiences of young people can only be gained through their participation in the research process, as people, including children, express feelings and thoughts that differ depending on the kind of person they are (Ennew, 1994a).

Hart (1992) highlights that children's involvement varies not only according to the cultural context in which that child is brought up but also with a child's motivations. However, Ennew (1994a) states that children can be motivated by their involvement in producing benefits for their own lives. Despite this, children's participation cannot, and should not, be equated to that of adult participation. Hart (1992) has devised a ladder of participation and non-participation that provides a guideline for conducting meaningful participatory research and is illustrated in Figure 3.1. The levels range from 'manipulation' (covert non-participation) to 'child-initiated, shared decisions with adults' (full participation). Although the top rung on the ladder should be the level of child participation most desired and sought after, levels six to eight are considered appropriate depending on the circumstances of the children involved. Hart (1992) emphasises that it is important to ensure throughout that non-participation is avoided.

Based on this philosophy, a diverse range of child-centred methods has been developed across the social sciences covering oral, written and visual activities. These include amongst others: focus group discussions; observation; recall; drawings; spider diagrams; resource mapping; and seasonal calendars. All these methods have been successfully tested in a participatory framework for their appropriateness in eliciting information with children, with manuals for practitioners being produced on issues of implementation (Boyden and Ennew, 1997; IDS, 1996; IIED, 1996; Johnson *et al.*, 1994).

What has been made apparent from reviewing this literature is that there are three essential components to undertaking successful participatory, child-centred research. First, the establishment of a rapport between researcher and child helps to develop trust. Second, individualising the techniques to suit the research environment and the children taking part not only reduces anxiety due to the use of familiar surroundings but elicits the greatest level of information. Finally, remembering that children themselves are the experts reduces adult imposed research techniques (Ennew, 1994a).

Figure 3.1: Hart's ladder of participation



(Source: devised from Hart, 1992:8-17)

street children's participation

Child-centred and child-led participatory methods are particularly relevant when researching street children given the unique set of circumstances that impinge on the lifeworld of a child living and surviving in the cityscape. Therefore research with street children needs special consideration. Dallape (1987) argues that rather than becoming involved initially in community development, street children need to be able to take control of their own lives and free themselves from their difficult circumstances. In Brazil, this need culminated in the development of what Friere (1970, cited in Johnson *et al.*,

1994) termed, 'street educators'. They worked with small groups of street children facilitating activities and discussions that were always based upon the children's own reality.

Bemak (1996) has developed this philosophy for those undertaking research with street children given that the intense, haphazard nature of street life often results in a way of living that is alien to the majority of researchers. The principle here is that research must take place within the environs of the street advising that there is a need for the re-conceptualisation of the researcher into a 'street researcher', armed with a variety of new skills and abilities. According to Rudestam and Newton (1992), researchers must become more creative and flexible, as well as participatory, in exploring street child environments as daily routines may cause interruption in the research process due to more pressing commitments. Therefore Bemak (1996) calls for an initial period of intense ethnographic work in order for the street researcher to become familiar with street children's environment.

> "If the street researcher is successful in entering this world it will be through the guidance of street children, who will.... at times assume the responsibility of teachers and even protectors from potentially dangerous situations. Given this, the researcher must relinquish all predispositions and learn to enter a new culture and take on new norms and rules." (Bemak, 1996:151)

This will further help to neutralise problems over whether children will tell the truth, or indeed take part in the research at all. Swart (1990) expresses this sentiment in her work with street children in South Africa, whereby establishing a mutual trust relationship seemed to reduce the necessity for lying.

Therefore, when considering a participatory methodology with Kampala street children, three components had to be explored. First, the circumstances of each child needed to be accounted for in order to understand the level of participation that can be invoked and also the methods used to facilitate gathering the desired information. Second, the researcher had to be prepared to enter into an unknown world thereby developing a two-way trust relationship with the participants. Third, the process of taking part in the research needed to be well thought out and constructed in order to avoid covert non-participation.

3.4 Issues of research design

Given the importance of participation for children and the merits of using a multi-method approach, this section examines the introductory issues centred around the design of the research. Explored here are aspects central to the understanding of the methods used.

Therefore, before going on to fully explain the methods and to contemplate the procedures used, a brief review of the participants, the process of the research, access to participants, pilot procedures and ethnographic strategies will provide background.

3.4.1 Review of participants

The complexity of defining childhood, and consequently street children, has been elucidated in previous chapters. However, despite the diversity of childhood experiences, both within Kampala and Uganda as a whole, each one is impacted upon by the framework set out in The Children Statute (1997). This draws on the notion of children needing care and protection as outlined in the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child, an essentially Western construction (Boyden, 1991). Therefore as Holloway and Valentine (2000:6) note: 'recognition of children's agency does not necessarily lead to a rejection of an appreciation of the ways in which their lives are shaped by forces beyond the control of individual children'. Given this, the children who participated in this research were aged between eight and seventeen years[10] in accordance with Ugandan Government policy, although no-one located outside these age parameters was excluded. As age was difficult to determine, for this research the children were considered as pre-adolescents (usually considered to be aged between eight and 12 years) or adolescents (usually considered to be aged between 13 and 17 years) as this was the main factor which determined their survival strategies. It transpired throughout that those with a child-like appearance employed different strategies from older children.

Children from the city centre were the main research group, given that this place niche harbours more socio-spatial variety and diversity (Cresswell, 1996; see also Chapter 5). Initial contact was made through volunteering at Friends of Children Association (FOCA), a well established non-governmental organisation (NGO) that has been working with street children in Kampala since the early 1980s. A total of 153 full-time street children participated in this research, the majority of whom were involved in more than one activity and many took part in several activities. Other children from outlying city divisions also participated both in introductory sessions adding a further 80 to the total number of participants. A census[11] was also undertaken of full-time street children in Kampala eliciting information from 273 participants. Although useful for constructing a general picture of the situation, a cautionary note must be attached to these data given the limitations of questionnaires previously noted. However, as this was conducted in

[10] Under Uganda law a child is any person under the age of 18 years (The Children Statute of Uganda, 1997). This is an arbitrary classification, as many children are unsure of their birth date and therefore guess their age, but it is important legally. Being considered 'a child' under the law, impacts on children's interaction with the police and law enforcement agencies and the legal sanctions imposed.

[11] The researcher was involved with FOCA and the Kampala NGO Network in undertaking the 1999 Kampala Street Child Census.

conjunction with FOCA and the Kampala NGO Network, some of the aforementioned biases were minimised.

It was also important to represent the views of those street users with whom street children interact. Prominent NGO staff and government officials took part in 15 key informant semi-structured interviews to elicit background material and to triangulate with children's information. Other groups of adults were involved for additional cross-checking purposes and to elicit feelings and attitudes from other street actors about their interactions with street children. Both semi-structured interviews and questionnaire or interview surveys were used extensively and intensively depending on the characteristics of each group. Three categories of street user were identified; working public, general public and law enforcers. Interviews were conducted with 100 participants with respect to the former two categories, while under the title of law enforcers 148 questionnaires were received from police officers and 52 from local defence unit (LDU) members out of 150 administered to each group. Finally, former street youths, now adults, were interviewed in order to develop the life history of street children's socio-spatial interactions.

3.4.2 Stages of the methodology

In order to ensure the research parameters have been adequately represented, a cross tabulation of methods and aims has been devised and displayed in Table 3.1. It highlights both the level of triangulation and appropriate coverage of all aspects of the research process. Each method listed was used to develop the research for more than one aim thereby resulting in a high level of cross-checking through the information gained

The data collection period was divided into three stages in order for the research to develop in accordance with familiarisation of the topic and trust of the participants. Although three stages have been identified as emerging chronologically, for each stage to be able to build on the findings of the others, in some cases they were also carried out concurrently. Flexibility was important as new information came to light throughout the research process.

The initial phase of the research was based on secondary data collection, ethnographic observation and key informant interviews in order for the researcher to become fully immersed into the culture and to become familiar with the surrounding environment as a 'street researcher'. Volunteering with FOCA, and establishing contacts with inside informers, was invaluable for gaining initial access to children. Through this a detailed knowledge of street child spaces during the day and night, observation and surveying of street child activities and familiarisation with other staff and street children involved in the

programme was also gained. This stage provided a way into more detailed work while also producing information necessary to fulfil aims one and three.

Table 3.1: Aims and methods: coverage and interaction

Methods	Aims			
	1. To investigate street child causes	2. To investigate use of space/place	3. To determine relationships with others	4. To examine use of urban public space over time
Ethnographic Observation	X*	√	√	√
Mental Maps	X	√	√	X
'Depot'[12] Maps	X	√	√	X
Drawings	√	X	√	√
Time Lines	X	√	X	X
Photo Diaries	X	√	√	√
Children's survey	√	√	X	X
Radio Interviews	X	√	√	√
Activity Discussions	X	√	√	√
Issue Discussions	X	√	√	√
Brainstorming	√	√	√	√
Essays	√	√	√	√
Children's Quiz	X	√	X	√
Personal Histories	√	√	X	√
User Interviews	√	√	√	√
User Surveys	√	√	√	√
Key Informant Interviews	√	√	√	√

(* The X signifies that the method was not used to satisfy a particular aim while the √ signifies that the method was used)

The second phase of the research was a continuation of the previous stage building upon its discoveries and maintaining established contacts. During this phase secondary research and ethnographic observation techniques were used as an on-going process to understand how other street users interact with street children. Through this, the formation of links with adult street users was created and their involvement in the research process initiated in order to fulfil the requirements of aim four. Structured interviews and questionnaires were then used to elicit more detailed information and to triangulate initial observations. This was then supported with in-depth semi-structured interviews with key individuals to further understand social street interactions.

Finally, phase three of the research process concentrated on working directly with street children after the familiarisation period had been completed and relationships with key

[12] 'Depot' is the colloquial term used by street children in Kampala to refer to the place where they sleep.

children established. Once the research agenda had been fully explained, a series of activities were devised and implemented in conjunction with the children as willing participants. This stage was conducted concurrently with the previous phase as information gathered here also impacted upon the interviewing of street users and therefore semi-structured interviews with 'known' street actors took place simultaneously with children's activities.

3.4.3 Strategies for accessing research participants

Within social science research, sampling is deemed essential for gaining representative information of the wider community and a variety of procedures exist for this purpose (Blumer, 1993; Lee, 1993; Moser and Kalton, 1971; Robson, 1993). However, traditional sampling strategies were not considered appropriate in this instance given the 'hidden' nature of street children, street user populations and the participatory philosophy employed. It was considered more important to adopt Bemak's (1996) 'street researcher' position in order to access street children and to use their knowledge for accessing street users.

accessing children....

As street children were the main participants, it is appropriate to first discuss how they were accessed and incorporated into the research process. As already noted, initial contact was gained through communication with NGOs working in Kampala. A meeting with Deo Yigas, the Director for the Uganda Chapter of ANPPCAN[13], at the beginning of the fieldwork period, facilitated contacts with FOCA. Through this the researcher was provided with the opportunity to participate in FOCA's drop-in centre and outreach activities, which provided a 'non-threatening' neutral environment in which to get to know some of the children. Contacts were further facilitated with other NGOs working with street children in the city, and from this it was discovered that FOCA and the Tigers Club[14] had the most comprehensive programmes for city centre full-time street children. Although visits were also made to the Tigers Club, over time the researcher's involvement with FOCA increased through participation in their day and night street outreach and medical programmes. This involved visiting children on the streets and talking with them, as well as assisting children who needed to attend the local clinic due to illness or injury.

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[13] ANPPCAN is the acronym for the African Network for the Prevention and Protection of Children from Abuse and Neglect.

[14] The Tigers Club is an expanding NGO working with street boys in Kampala city centre. Their main outreach programme is based on football training.

It soon became apparent, however, that volunteering in this way provided a narrow perspective of street life. Many children did not regularly attend NGO facilities, and when they did it was often with a specific purpose, such as doing their laundry, eating or playing sports. Therefore, in order to fully understand street children's use of space and their marginalisation within the urban domain, it became clear that alternative strategies had to be employed. Following Bemak's (1996) call for researchers to become 'street researchers', the next step in gaining access to street children required the researcher to move away from the confined artificial parameters of the drop-in centre and begin interacting with the children on the streets. This was achieved through the help of 'inside informers': the children themselves and a former street youth who was well respected by those still on the street. The result was a 'snowballing' of relationships with children and their increased interest in the research process.

Each in-depth child-centred activity tended to include between twenty and thirty children although smaller groups were used in discussions. It is important to note that the information gathered from these activities cannot be generalised for all street children as inclusion in any of the research activities was based on the willingness of the participants. This, however, was not the intention of this part of the research. With regard to the census, where the purpose was to gather general information, every attempt was made to access all full-time street children by using the children themselves to identify street child niches in the city. Each place was visited at night by the research team, when the children were most likely to be there.

....and adults

With regard to accessing street users, more traditional social science methods were employed and sampling strategies therefore devised. Each group of street users will be considered separately beginning with law enforcement officers, members of the public and public workers. It must be noted that the intention of these questionnaires and structured interviews was not to provide a representative sample but only to obtain views from as wide a variety of participants as possible. This was particularly important given that data on the size and nature of these adult populations is not available.

Information on police and LDU officers is classified and therefore 'off-record' enquires had to be made outside the police department. Through this a ten percent sample was estimated to be approximately 150 officers and a comparable number were administered to LDU officers. The techniques employed for administering the questionnaires also differed due to lack of information and access. The police operate on a rotational basis and move around Kampala district so the questionnaires were divided among all the

divisions. Cluster sampling was then employed in order to cover all police officers. Twenty questionnaires were administered to each of the divisional headquarters (30 were given to Central Police Station (CPS) as it is larger than the others) and a request made for patrol officers to fill them in. Written permission had to be sought from the police commander in order for this access to be gained (Appendix A). It was more difficult to access the LDU as these officers are part-time and have no divisional offices. Permission was sought from the Kampala LDU commander, who preferred to administer the questionnaires himself. This created difficulties regarding rate of return and the reliability of the sample. However as the information was only to obtain general opinions and not to accurately represent the whole population, the usefulness of even few returns was deemed important.

With respect to obtaining the views of members of the public, the size and make-up of the population were again unknown. Therefore a variety of quota techniques were used to diversify the views represented. Equal numbers of males and females were interviewed covering a wide age range, and half the interviews were conducted in Luganda or Kiswahili and half in English. Further, in order to cover the city centre a random sample of streets was employed. Although not an ideal form of sampling it was sufficient to obtain a general feel for the interactions and impressions of street children and street users and the results obtained are not claimed to be an accurate representation of the whole population.

With regard to the working public, structured interviews were carried out using stratified network sampling. Strata based on occupational groupings were obtained from children's discussions and, within this, network sampling was employed given the difficulties of obtaining information on irregular employment and employees. More in-depth informal interviews also acted as a cross-checking and validation mechanism given the limited knowledge of the populations interviewed. The use of a sampling strategy was not necessary here as all individuals mentioned by the street children were given the opportunity to participate.

Former street children could only be accessed through personal contacts. The initial point of entry into this 'hidden' group was through FOCA peer leaders, young men and women who are now off the streets and employed in outreach work with street children. A network or snowballing technique was then employed to further access willing participants. The difficulties of contacting former street children are complex, particularly as many do not want to remember their street life. It was therefore only possible to contact those who were known to informants.

3.4.4 Pilot procedures

Given the diversity of people involved in this study both culturally and individually, it was essential to ascertain whether the activities, particularly the more traditional questionnaires and interviews, had been designed correctly in order for the desired information to be elicited. With regard to the surveys and the structured interviews, pilot tests were carried out prior to administering. Comments by those completing pilot forms were useful in determining difficult language and adding or omitting question parts. With regard to populations that could not be accessed prior to administration, such as the police, other local people with secondary education were used. This was still useful in determining the level of question understanding. Each pilot comprised of approximately ten percent of the desired sample.

With regard to children's activities, the nature of participatory research involves discussion based on the eliciting of information and the direct involvement of the participants. In this regard then, piloting was not carried out as children were involved in developing the activities themselves. However, through discussing the research process, amendments were included as the activities progressed.

3.4.5 Ethnographic interaction and observation

Ethnographic interaction and observation is often used as a technique in social science research due to its directness, and spontaneity of response, that counteracts the artificiality of contrived research situations (Robson, 1993). With street children the technique was considered particularly appropriate, not only for familiarisation with the research context, but also for identifying new issues and cross-checking other referents of the research (Boyden and Ennew, 1997; Swart, 1990). This was important throughout but particularly at the beginning of the research process. Unstructured, non-interactive observation of children and their interactions with others was recorded in a daily research diary. As much detail as possible was noted and recorded as frequently as possible. As time progressed this developed into participant observation as the researcher's own interaction with the children, and on some occasions members of the public, increased. Over time and situation the researcher's level of participation changed but it was inherently important to be aware of her role and the effect this may have had on altering children's behaviour. The reflexive nature of this method results in research influence and bias on the diary notes made. Therefore although a useful aspect of the methodology it was important that other methods must be included to minimise this effect and enhance the opinions and

ideas of the participants themselves. This two-way process is adequately summed up by Lucchini (1996a:169) who states that:

> "Although the researcher's own empathy with research subjects should be regarded as a resource, it also needs to be controlled by the use of appropriate research methods. Without a deep experience of the field, even the best methods are nothing."

3.5 Method overview: 'action' research with Kampala street children

This section illustrates and explains the activities devised and adapted for use with street children, based on a child-centred, participatory philosophy. Although oral methods constituted a large proportion of the activities used, visual methods were a particularly important part of the process as they were practically based. Furthermore, the spoken language of Kampala street children, *Luyaaye*, was a combination of words and phrases adopted from various Ugandan languages and dialects. When coupled with the fact that many of the children were illiterate, the use of visual methods was particularly important for encouraging free expression. Written methods were therefore used minimally. It must be pointed out that these three method types were not mutually exclusive; in fact some measure of all three skills was involved in each of the activities. Visual material was used to help focus attention during oral discussions; images produced during visual activities were subsequently used as a catalyst for eliciting description, and oral interaction was used in conjunction with written exercises. However, for the purposes of reviewing the methods used, they will be outlined as visual, oral and written methods.

3.5.1 Visual methods

As outlined in Chapter 1, visual methods, have been used previously in geographical research focusing on children's spatial cognition and mapping abilities (Blaut, 1997; Golledge *et al.*, 1992; Matthews 1984, 1987). Within this cognitive tradition research is undertaken *about* children rather than *with* children and often their own interpretations of the images are dismissed by the researcher. This is particularly important in conducting cross-cultural work, as visuality is a culturally diverse experience (Boyden and Ennew, 1997; Johnson *et al.*, 1994). By contrast, the recent sociological interest in children as social actors uses visual methods to gain insights into the context of a child's lived experience. Therefore, a series of visual 'action' activities were devised and adapted which were fun, child-centred and gave the street children involved a large measure of ownership of the exercise (see also Young and Barrett, forthcoming 2001). Maps, drawings, daily time lines and photo diaries, were selected with the purpose to elicit information on street children's use of the street on a daily basis. Although these methods

were experimental in nature some had been used before with street children (for example Baker *et al.*, 1996; Beazley, 1997; Swart, 1990) The experimentation was therefore mainly related to their use in eliciting socio-spatial data and as a catalyst for oral description - a form of basic analysis by the children themselves.

mental maps and depot maps

This method was used in a variety of settings at different times. Although 22 children took part, only small groups of children were gathered together and discussed the subject of maps. Once it was clear that everybody understood the concept they were asked to draw their own mental maps of Kampala showing the places that they usually visited during the day, and depot maps illustrating all the depots where they knew street children frequented (Plate 3.1). In order to do this each child was given a piece of plain paper and a pencil already equipped with a rubber end should they wish to change their image. The maps were then used to facilitate explanation and discussion with each child concerning what they had drawn and why they had drawn it.

Plate 3.1: Street children involved in a map drawing session at FOCA

(Source: Author)

The advantages of this method for the understanding of children's daily life cycles were three-fold. First, as most street children do not attend even informal education classes they are limited in their opportunities to use paper and pencils and, as the activity was action-based rather than discursive and drawing capabilities were not essential, the children found the activity fun and others often asked if they could join in. Second, as such an activity is not spontaneous like conversational interviews, the children were able to take their time and make amendments to the finished product as they saw fit. This allowed

them to think through what they were doing and provide the truest representation possible. Finally, the maps themselves were useful tools in eliciting information about the daily life of street children as they were keen to talk about what they had drawn and provide details of where each place they had marked was and why it was an important place to them. The maps acted as prompts because often the minds of street children wander due to the effects of sniffing fuel. Further, the spatial representations produced were also valuable for examining the 'place' of street children in Kampala with many children concentrating their efforts on the 'down-town' area to the south of the city. This is generally the busiest and least regulated area containing the markets and taxi parks.

It was often quite difficult for the children to position places accurately on their maps. On some occasions the discussion on maps became lengthy as some children found it difficult to grasp the concept. This, however, was generally due to the effects of sniffing fuel. Copying was also present in these activities although not rife. What tended to be copied however, was not the actual places drawn but the style of drawing. As these children are out of school their knowledge of mapping is not well developed. They would therefore discuss how to draw the map before creating their own representations. This meant that map styles were limited and places were often represented as circles. However, as the detail was the important aspect, it was not felt that comparing styles was detracting from the information produced. In hindsight, and time allowing, individual drawing sessions would have eliminated such comparisons but may also have diminished the enthusiasm generated by initial discussions and returned the situation to adult-led rather than child-led.

thematic and non-thematic drawings

Again this activity was constructed in a variety of places and at different times with 23 children. The activity was split into two sessions comprising of three drawings each and although some children participated in both, this was not a requirement. This was done because of the limited attention span of street children and through discussion it was felt that three drawings were ideal. Children were each given paper and a pencil and asked to draw a series of pictures. The format varied between formal thematic, informal thematic and non-thematic representations based on aspects of the children's daily lives. Each drawing was given a title arrived at through discussions with children. Modifications were made so that correct interpretations of the titles would be arrived at.

As with map making, drawing pictures allowed the children to freely express themselves and to think about what they wished to portray. Further, they were not inhibited about their drawing capabilities which often occurs in more literate children who develop a

sense of artistic inadequacy. The drawings were also useful tools in eliciting discussion with individual children as it provided a focus away from the researcher. The children themselves were in control of producing the images and therefore, when asked about what they had drawn, the majority talked freely, increasing the quality of the information gathered.

Poorer images were constructed than those that would have arisen from a group of similar-aged school-going children, due to lack of practice. However, as the quality of the drawing was not the issue under examination, this was not felt to impinge on the results. When drawing formal thematic images based on 'safe' and 'dangerous' places, occasionally children 'mixed up' the pictures because they could not remember which column was for each category. This highlighted the importance of the children's subsequent explanations. Often ambiguity occurred and it was impossible to determine whether the picture represented a safe or a dangerous place. It was only through listening to the oral justifications provided that the correct understanding could be gained. Although separate papers could have been used and the activity split into two, this would not have allowed for children's work to be compared nor would it have elucidated initial mental conjecture over the meaning of safety and danger in the context of space.

daily time lines

The construction of daily time lines was elicited as a group activity. It was initially explained to the whole group that this particular research task was interested in discovering what they did at different times of the day or night. It was explained that this would be constructed using a graph made up of pictures representing different activities. The group was then given the option of participating and 19 children then opted to take part with three joining in later. A discussion ensued on what kinds of activities street children did and what should be included for representation. A list of 11 activities was devised and the children created symbols to represent each one. Often heated discussions arose when someone got too artistic and after negotiation the symbol was modified and simplified until each category had a matching symbol that everyone was happy with. Each child then took turns at creating a line on the graph representing their typical day and discussing where they carried out each of their activities.

This activity, in particular, highlighted how the more participatory an activity becomes the more the enthusiastic are the participants. The fun nature of designing the symbols and categories persuaded others to join in. Furthermore, the initial discussion could also be highlighted as important for pre-activity analysis in that the children coded their activities through the process of designing symbolic representation. There was also an in-built

cross-checking mechanism in that children questioned each other on what symbols they had drawn or shouted out the activities of their friends. This was particularly useful for de-sensitising taboo subjects such as stealing. If the children were discussing another's involvement in stealing it became obligatory that the child in question included that symbol. The information provided could be analysed to construct daily movements around the city at particular times and was useful for triangulating information gathered from discussion groups.

The main disadvantage with the method was the group nature of the activity. This was necessary in order to hand over the design of the activity to the children but may have limited some children in admitting that they took part in illegal or undesirable activities. Secondly, the omission of drug taking occurred in some instances because for some this is omnipresent and has no particular time or place. This, however, was an important discovery in itself. Prior coding of the images also meant that less detail was present in the time lines. However, had the children drawn their own representations, group cohesiveness and participation would have been reduced and discontinuity in symbols may have made later coding difficult.

photo diaries

The researcher's position as a white, adult, female researcher meant that it was impossible for her to enter into the lives of Kampala street children as a full participant observer. Therefore photo diaries were used to recreate the daily life cycle processes and spatial patterns. It was envisaged that images would be produced in spaces and at times that the researcher would otherwise have no access. Fifteen disposable cameras, with flash for evening pictures, were given to street children who wished to participate in the exercise. A variety of ages and both gender groups were represented. Instructions on how to use the camera were given to each child, or child group. The children were asked to take pictures of the activities they did and the places they visited over a 24-hour period. However, they were not told what or when to photograph, thereby leaving the content and process entirely up to each child to decide.

From the point of view of the researcher there were four main advantages to using this method. First, the images produced gave excellent coverage of children's daily lives and good representation was produced. Second, the pictures themselves worked exceptionally well as a tool for discussion and often the dullest most badly taken pictures elicited the richest information from the photographer. Often the discussions were more revealing than the pictures themselves although this is not to undermine the pictures taken as some were excellent representations of street life. Third, some of the cameras went into places

where the researcher in her 'outsider' position would have changed the situation. Finally, often subsidiary images in the pictures highlighted more than the main subjects themselves.

From the children's point of view there were three main advantages. First, most street children do not have a good self image and initially it was difficult for them to understand why they were being trusted with cameras. For example, one nine year old boy really wanted to participate in the research but did not believe that he was actually being trusted with a camera. This activity was a major self-esteem and self confidence builder among the children. Second, the activity gave the children access to modern technology that would otherwise not have been available to them and allowed them to keep their own photographs. Finally, the 'fun' nature of the activity interested many children and they became very excited about designing their photo diary.

As a relatively new method several issues arose. Although the majority of the cameras were returned, three were not. In two of these cases the films were destroyed by other children who were 'accidentally' included in a picture. Only one camera was sold. Therefore, although there were instances where the data were not returned, this was considered too insignificant for the method not to be used. Although the fun aspect of this session was enhanced by the novelty of the method which allowed the children to use modern technology, otherwise impossible for them, some ethical considerations arose. The cameras on a couple of occasions caused problems between children. Where one child in a group had been given a camera the others often acted in a hostile manner towards him through jealously. Further, on another occasion when the camera was given to a group to share, one child ran off and kept the camera to himself, causing problems with the rest of the group. This only happened on two occasions and generally between younger children. Of more concern was the selling of the used cameras. The children all expressed a wish to keep the cameras when they were finished. Although initially surprised when told that they could only work once, they fully understood the 'disposable' nature of the camera. Some of the children used the camera shell for play but it became increasingly apparent that the majority had sold their disposable cameras to unsuspecting members of the public. When asked why they had sold the cameras they commented that it was useless to them as they had nowhere keep it and that people wanted to buy them.

With regard to the actual process of taking the pictures, many of the children were not able to spread this over a whole 24-hour period. The younger children in particular were too excited and tended to use up all the photos in the space of a morning or an afternoon. Although this changed the nature of the data, they were not any less rich and in fact provided even more depth to particular activities. In order to avoid repetition of scenes,

cameras were handed out to different children at different times of the day and on different days of the week. The in-depth nature of the photos and the subsequent discussion of their contents suggests that they provide a valuable, exclusively child-centred and child-led source of information. Moreover, every picture tells a story and in some instances this information revealed more about the survival mechanisms developed by street children. For example, a child who had 'snapped' a person working in the market, not only took the picture to represent their place of work, but also to enable the child in question to sell the photograph afterwards. This demonstrates that street survival is constantly in the forefront of a street child's mind. Such an insight would not have emerged from an interview, which is not action based and therefore does not detail the minor aspects of survival and existence.

Camera ownership also highlighted issues of concern, particularly among the younger children. Much worry was expressed over policemen and other security personnel who might think the child in question had stolen the camera, and take it from them. Therefore, if required, a card containing the researcher's name and contact details and a brief description of the research activity the children were taking part in accompanied the camera. A further consideration that arose was the use of the camera at night. Most of the children were worried about keeping the camera while they were sleeping. It was difficult to get around this problem as it was not possible for the researcher to meet with the children very late at night when they are about to sleep. In addition, this is when most of the children are high on drugs or fuel. The solutions came from the children themselves. Cameras were given to friendly adults or security guards who were nearby to keep overnight. One child even slept at the house of a friend to avoid losing his camera.

the catalytic properties of visual methods

Overall, visual methods were an important means of truly representing the socio-spatial aspects of street life for children in Kampala. In terms of children's oral analysis, photo diaries were particularly useful in eliciting information. Much more detail was extracted from 'real' as opposed to 'constructed' images such as drawings and maps. It is envisaged that this is related to the truer representation that a colour photograph provides. Furthermore, these were reconstructions of real situations that had occurred in the last 24-hour period and therefore triggered short-term memory recall. The drawings and maps, however, were mental constructions taken from long-term memory which has lower detail capacity. In this instance then, photo diaries were a much superior method for eliciting oral information than other pictorial representations, although they too elicited a wealth of descriptive data.

Pictures and maps also provided good descriptive results due to a higher level of detail in pictorial, as opposed to symbolic, images. This was shown through the map making activities. When children drew pictures to represent the places they had frequented, in general their explanations were much more detailed than when circles or other symbols were used to delineate places visited. The detail was important in prompting recall based on why and what they had drawn. The daily time line activity was the poorest elicitor of oral description. In this exercise the children selected to use symbols rather than images thereby reducing the level of mental stimulation. The group construction of the symbols used also reduced the level of personal detail and thereby their usefulness as a prompt for discussion.

It is important to note, however, that the visual methods described above were used in different ways and for different purposes. Eliciting oral information from children was not always a major objective of the method used. However, when a number of visual methods are employed, they can facilitate the triangulation of data and have proved to be highly effective child-centred methods when researching the socio-spatial lives of street children in Kampala.

3.5.2 Oral methods

Although visual methods were incorporated to overcome difficulties of verbal expression, oral methods were also used. However, often a visual prompt was included to help focus the discussion. There has been a greater history of adapting oral methods for use with children and it was felt that this would help to support the visual activities. However, this was not to detract from the participatory nature of the methodology and every effort was made to keep the sessions child-centred and child-led.

children's census

The 1999 Kampala Street Child Census was conducted in conjunction with FOCA and the NGO Network as part of their baseline survey. The information contained in the survey was based on FOCA's specific needs covering general issues linked to personal background and life on the streets (Appendix B). A team of sixteen census staff administered the questionnaires in Luganda in pairs. In order to focus only on full-time street children and to target as many as possible, the census was conducted at night between the hours of 10.00pm and midnight, considered by the children themselves to be the most appropriate time. Previously known depots, whose locations were determined through field visits and children's knowledge, were divided amongst the team cells and standardised interview techniques devised. Each cell met near their proposed location and

explained the census to the children prior to interviewing. The census was carried out on three nights in order for all locations to be covered and de-briefing meetings were held the following day to discuss difficult encounters and problems that had arisen with the research team.

From the point of view of this investigation the census information was useful for triangulation purposes and for examining the spatial movements of children to the streets from their home environments. It provided general information that could not be obtained from more intensive small-scale work. However, many authors (Baker *et al.*, 1996; Boyden and Ennew, 1997; Ennew, 1994a) highlight the problematic nature of conducting research in this way stressing that street children are often sceptical of questionnaire methods. This can result in lying and the collection of inaccurate data. In this case, the census was administered by NGO staff known to the children and was conducted with their consent and involvement. Although this helped to reduce the limitations of undertaking a survey, the information obtained was only used for this research in conjunction with other methods.

Regarding the practicalities of administering the census, several issues arose from the de-briefing sessions. First, some children were not willing to be interviewed while others were not at the depot as they occasionally sleep in shelters, discos and video halls[15]. Second, difficulties arose regarding the collecting of information in the city outskirts. Here the children and their concentration points are less well known to the team and therefore the accuracy of this information is more difficult to determine. Third, and of more concern, the census was conducted at a time when local authorities were arresting adults for failure to show identification. Although government policy states that it is illegal to arrest children and all police stations denied detaining children at that time (FOCA, 1999), some children complained of being arrested, suggesting that they may have been omitted from the census.

'radio' role play interviews

Radio interviews started out as introductory sessions to familiarise participants with the dynamics of conducting a discussion, as the intent was to make them child-led, and to allow them to practice using a tape recorder. Prior to developing a discussion, the children were given the tape recorder to play with by singing and speaking into it and listening to their voices. Then, in order to highlight the point that multiple voices distorts the

[15] From the census 153 children were interviewed in the city centre. However, the numbers are estimated to be around 200 based on information collected from shelters and the children themselves about where they were sleeping during the census (FOCA, 1999). However, the reliability of such an estimate must be borne in mind.

recording, each group was asked to speak simultaneously into the tape and this was played back. In general, this was useful for teaching the use of the equipment and only the girls later had problems of 'wanting to speak all at once'. The use of the micro cassette recorder excited the children and they enjoyed being able to tape each other and listen to the responses made. It was particularly useful for focusing the discussions.

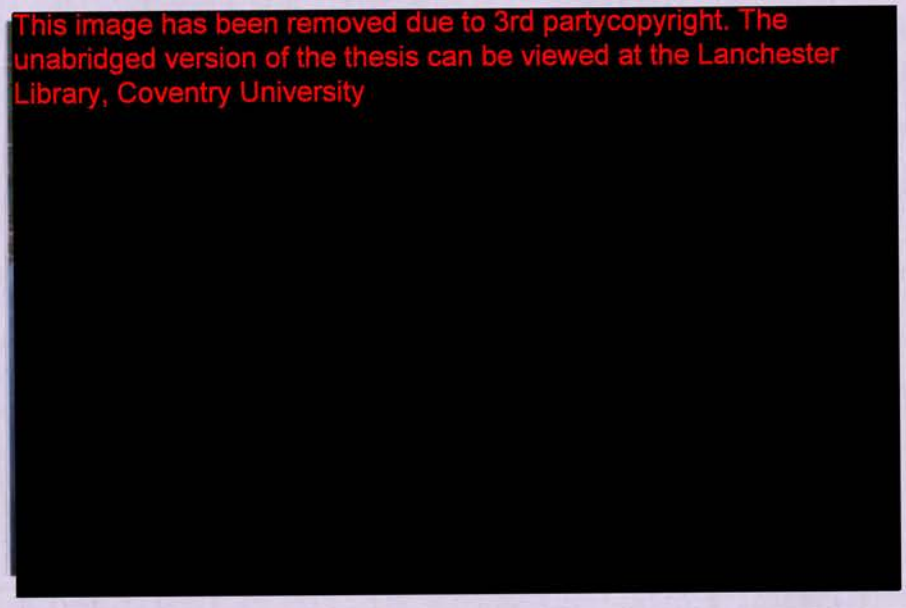
The second aspect was to collate information on children's thoughts and feelings of 'street life' issues. The undefined nature of the topic meant they could practice devising questions, involving the group and speaking into the tape recorder . Through this process some groups felt that using the tape recorder was a bit like using a microphone and decided on a radio presentation for stimulating group discussion. This was useful in keeping control of the group and ensuring that everyone did not speak at once. This method was particularly useful for introducing discussion techniques and the 'radio role play' made the session fun for the children. One group even turned up after all their sessions were finished still wanting to take part.

activity discussions

The second, and more lengthy, discussions were conducted with regard to use of space. Here, children who wished to participate were identified into groups according to age and gender. There were six groups of boys, three pre-adolescent and three adolescent groups and one group of girls[16]. Five discussions took place with each group based on topics identified earlier through observation and brainstorming activities, discussed later in this chapter. This often highlighted issues that may have been over looked by an outside researcher. They were based on children's use of the urban environment for working, eating, washing, sleeping and leisure. At the beginning of each session the children would discuss the places where they went to carry out each activity and then mark them on a map of Kampala. This acted as an initial ice breaker and created a visual prompt for use during the discussion. Then each place identified was deliberated in turn using the map and a loosely devised schedule as prompts. The children taped themselves and conducted the discussion with the use of a micro cassette recorder, to minimise researcher input and make the session more child-led (Plate 3.2). This was particularly useful in involving the group as a whole as the participants would notice when an individual was not providing an opinion and it was less threatening to be confronted by peers regarding this issue.

[16] The number of street girls identified in Kampala city centre is very small and therefore it was not possible to conduct more discussion groups with girls.

Plate 3.2: An activity discussion with pre-adolescent street boys



This photograph illustrates boys participating in an activity discussion at FOCA's head office. Although many of the session were conducted inside the tent, these boys preferred to sit outside on the grass. One of the boys is controlling the discussion with the tape recorder. The adult in the picture was the research assistant who helped with facilitation and subsequent translation. (Source: Author)

As five topics were identified by the children, the activity discussions involved each group returning several times. This was tailored to the needs of each group with the older ones returning less frequently and undertaking more discussions in a single session. Although no group dropped out of the exercise, changes were noted in participants as these sessions continued over a long period of time and the circumstances of some of the children changed. Also, with regard to the older boys, it was often difficult to arrange suitable times due to their much more demanding work and leisure schedules. This, coupled with bad weather during the rainy season, caused much rescheduling of sessions. The girls were particularly unsure about undertaking research and often changed their minds about participating. This particular group had problems with some of the NGOs in the city and often felt the research team was associated with these organisations. They also tended to associate with older women who influenced them regarding the research and encouraged some of the girls to rethink their involvement. However, the continued co-operation of a particularly strong-willed member of the group, who enjoyed using the tape recorder and discussing, eventually convinced the others to continue with the activity.

issue discussions

Issue discussions were small one-off group interactions based on topics decided by the children taking part. Eight discussions took place both with adolescent and pre-adolescent boys. The topic was decided upon and a brief schedule drawn up to act as prompts. The discussions were child-led with facilitator presence in order to keep them focused,

although this was not to restrict children's free expression. Discussion topics included: health and weather; drugs; sex; group dynamics; street culture; religion; violent interactions and lying. The unregulated nature of the discussions elicited unprecedented richness of data and the children were not inhibited during the discussions. Handing control over to the children, in this instance, created an agenda that under adult-led circumstances would have remained hidden. Again the tape recorder was used to control the discussions and subsequent transcriptions were made.

3.5.3 Written methods

Given the difficulties many of the street children had with literacy, due to their lack of education, it was initially felt that written methods would not form part of the research. However, it was discovered that some of the children were keen to practice and wanted to involve this in the research process. Therefore when coupled with oral discussions, written methods were incorporated in three ways namely: brainstorming; life essays and a children's quiz.

brainstorming

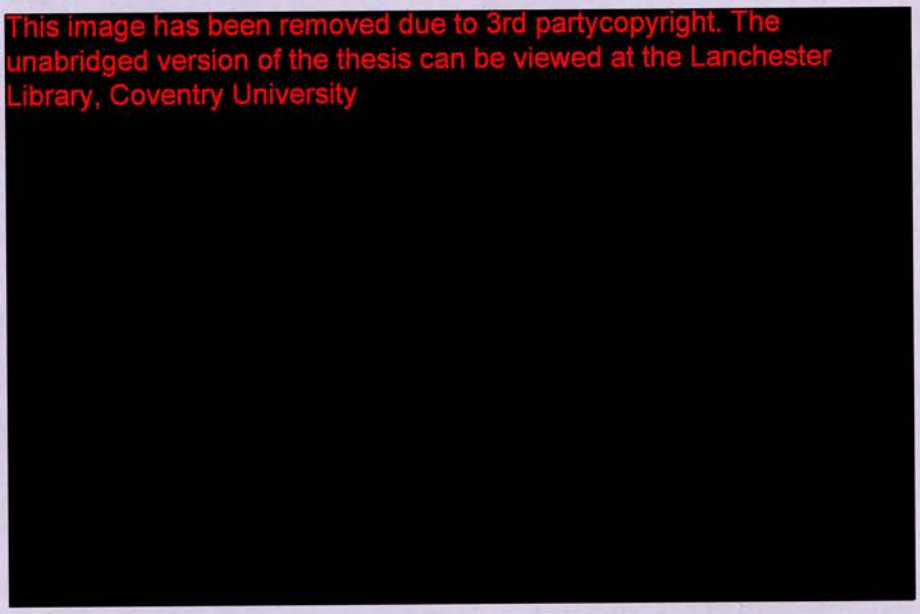
At the beginning of the research process brainstorming was conducted with part and full-time street children over the whole of Kampala. The benefit of using brainstorming was two-fold. First, it was useful for highlighting differences among groups of street children both in terms of their social and spatial constructions. This was important as it served to illustrate initial use of the city through spatial differentiation. Second, the activity was used as a way for the children themselves to explain important aspects in their lives which could then be incorporated into the research design.

Eight brainstorming sessions were conducted, comprising four in the city centre and one in each of Kampala's outlying divisions (illustrated in Figure 1.2) with groups of between ten and 20 participants. The children then divided themselves into smaller groups, each with a designated writer. Topics of importance to life on the streets were discussed. The issues raised were: sleeping, eating, fears, drugs, work and leisure. Each group discussed and one member in each group wrote the answers on a flip chart. At the end of each sub-section the children shared their ideas to the group as a whole (Plate 3.3). Within these sessions the researcher and research assistant acted only as facilitators.

Brainstorming had two main advantages. First, it allowed the researcher and the children to establish a working relationship through an exploratory activity that would further determine the direction the research would follow. Second, the activity introduced the

children to the research in a relaxed atmosphere and highlighted the children's preference of working in groups rather than on their own. However, problems were also encountered. Due to the nature of brainstorming as an introductory activity, the rapport between the researcher and the children was not well developed. This was not considered to invalidate the information gained as it was an exploratory method used to investigate relevant issues and generate interest in the research process.

Plate 3.3: Street children engaged in a brainstorming session at the FOCA drop-in centre



(Source: Author)

life essays

This activity was conducted to provide children living in shelters the opportunity to discuss their time on the streets. Essays were used given the difficulties of interviewing children and 20 were conducted in three centres. The children involved were asked to write about their life and what it was like to be a street child. Writing, however, proved problematic for some because of limited literacy. Furthermore, as the researcher was not well known to these children and lacked a positive relationship, some of the children used the to opportunity to write about other things, or declined to participate. This highlighted the importance of developing a relationship with all children involved in the research and thereby concentrating on working with particular children. Although some useful information was gathered, this particular activity was more important as a learning experience for the researcher as it helped to draw her attention to the importance of children's participation.

children's quiz

A children's quiz was established in conjunction with brainstorming in order to understand differences between children's socio-spatial interactions throughout Kampala. As with the brainstorming activity, this was an introductory activity to provide the researcher with a general impression of city-wide relationships. For this reason a group activity was devised and conducted four times in the centre of the city and four times in the outskirts. The number of children participating varied with each session as no-one was excluded, averaging six to eight participants, although in one instance over 20 boys participated. The initial discussion was based on the children's own impressions of street children. From this they wrote their ideas on a flip chart. A true or false 'quiz' was then devised made-up of a series of 24 statements centred on children's relationships to the cityscape.

As the children, in the outskirts, were unfamiliar with the research team, much of this work was undertaken in conjunction with NGOs. However, this was not always possible and children were not identified in Rubaga division. Further, no organisation was identified in Nakawa division and therefore the children there were sceptical of the research process. Although many of the street children were interested in talking to the research team, they sought guidance from one particular boy whom they respected. The research process was discussed fully with them prior to their decision to participate.

3.6 Researching street children: 'real' and ethical issues

From the review of the children's methods presented, it was apparent that visual and oral activities were the most useful for research with street children. The written methods used were less successful principally because illiteracy was high among the participants. Moreover, because they were undertaken at the start of the research process and with groups outside the city centre for familiarisation purposes, the researcher's relationship with the children was not well developed. This highlighted the importance of initial ethnographic work. However, throughout the research process several issues regarding undertaking cross-cultural research with street children arose. There were two main areas of concern that became particularly notable: 'real' research, dealing with the practicalities of involving street children in research; and ethical research constituting the moral judgements which often must be made.

3.6.1 Real research

Five factors arose during this research that need to be considered for successful and participatory results. First, many children use drugs, particularly the inhalation of fuel. This impairs their concentration and can result in a deterioration of the information given. However, it is not always possible to work with children who are sober, especially as the majority of full-time street children in Kampala engage in some form of drug usage. This was generally counteracted by walking and chatting, on the way to the research site, which meant the majority sobered up significantly to engage in the research process. In some cases children brought fuel to the session with them but no one was excluded from taking part in the research.

Second, as street children are sporadically engaged in a number of daily survival strategies the research had to be timed and sited conveniently for them (Swart, 1990). In Kampala, the majority of full-time street children have particular working patterns. They know when they can work in the markets, when they can sweep shop fronts and generally they only work enough to survive for the day. This, it transpired, was not a large proportion of their time. Discussions with the children prior to each activity resulted in negotiations whereby it was possible to meet them when they were not thinking about employment opportunities and at a time and place that did not really detract from their daily survival and social strategies. Flexibility was a central issue for the researcher as often meetings with the children changed spontaneously due to the weather, particularly in the rainy season. Therefore, it was made apparent very early on that the children needed to be involved in the process from the initial stages in order to ensure that they devoted interest and energy to the research.

Third, lying is part of a street child's culture as it is often necessary for their survival. In a discussion held with Mr. James Wangobo (FOCA, Interview, 1999), it was made clear that within a few days of arrival on the streets, a newcomer learns the responses to give when asked personal questions. Street children are often sceptical of authority and fear that if they give truthful answers they will be taken home or placed in remand centres. This is why it is essential to spend time with them to develop a trusting relationship using methods which they have designed and led themselves.

Fourth, the research setting requires consideration. Initially the FOCA drop-in centre was used as it was an area where many children congregated during the day. Here benches for leaning on were available and the children were not involved in other activities. Oral sessions were conducted at the FOCA head office as it was quiet and there was a large tent with worktables. Despite the perceived suitability of the area, some children did not want

to go there for a variety of reasons, including distance and personal preference. This emphasised the importance of negotiating other research locations with the children where disturbance would be minimal. Much time was spent deliberating, discussing and testing out locations until a suitable compromise was reached. Constitutional Square, in the town centre, proved a favourite location as did Freedom Square and sometimes the grassy bank outside the Sheraton Hotel. All were central locations near major depots to reduce walking distance. However, as these areas were in the open it was difficult to maintain privacy from passers-by. Furthermore, when it rained, it was impossible to use outdoor places resulting in the rescheduling of sessions. This process highlighted the importance of working within a familiar space negotiated and agreeable to all the children involved. Participation must begin at this most basic level for successful and meaningful results to be obtained.

Finally, it was important to be aware of the periodic style of life on the streets, particularly as the research process continued over several months. On several occasions children disappeared from the streets either returning home, to remand centres, or enticed to out of town schools and NGO facilities. However, given the nature of the research, this was considered to be insightful rather than an obstacle to the research process.

3.6.2 Ethical research

Ethics are an important consideration in any research setting but when the researcher is an outsider and the participants an excluded population, specific issues need to be considered (Madge, 1995). Five issues central to researching street children were identified here. First, gaining consent is vital particularly when dealing with children. As parental or teacher consent (Homan, 1991; Thomas and O'Kane, 1998) could not be sought, it was courteous to inform the city centre NGOs of the research and request their permission. However, it was considered more important for the details of the research to be explained, at a level understandable to each child, so that they could make an informed decision to take part (Boyden and Ennew, 1997; Ennew, 1994a). This is essential because, as Hart (1992) notes, forced involvement does not produce participatory research. Each time an activity was organised permission was sought from the children and the nature of the research explained. However, issues surrounding adult consent were also raised. For example, explanations and consent were needed from older associates, particularly of street girls, who would dissuade them from taking part by telling them that the researcher was going to make money out of them.

Second, the issue of data ownership proved problematic for this research. Participatory methodologies assume that data will be owned by the populations involved in the research

(Chambers 1994a, 1994b; IDS, 1996). In this instance the children did not want to keep their work and it was not until conducting the photo diaries that reasons for this became obvious. The majority of street children have nowhere to keep personal possessions as others will often steal or destroy 'valuable' items. As the photographs were a novelty many children did want to keep them, but they could only successfully do this by asking older friends to look after them. With respect to the oral sessions, where a tape recorder was used, the tape was played back at the end and was an enjoyable part of the research for the children.

Third, the issue of remuneration was complex. Although Mikklesen (1995) states that it is bad practice to pay participants, involving street children in the research process made this an unrealistic request. Similarly, as Baker (1998) discovered during her research in Nepal, the ethnographic process of developing relationships with street children, coupled with the identity of the researcher, meant that there were often times when acts of friendship were necessary. However, with regard to specific activities, remuneration was generally not given. The exception was with lengthy discussion sessions where bananas were provided at the end during the playing back of the tapes. This enhanced the fun nature of the activities and participation was increased as empty stomachs often cause distraction and loss of concentration.

Finally, the issues of gaining access to street children and the 'outsider' identity of the researcher, are somewhat interrelated and must be discussed together. According to Howard (1995) unequal power relations can develop based on the personal characteristics of the researcher. Race, gender, age, language use and class are cited as particularly influential. As a white, foreign, English-speaking, female adult the researcher was an anomaly among Kampala's street children. Thus, due to her identity the researcher was unable to become sufficiently involved with the street children to properly participate in, and observe, their lives unobtrusively to develop an understanding of their use of space.

The positionality of the researcher as an outsider illuminated three important considerations that had to be addressed in order to gain accurate information about the socio-spatial behaviour of the street children. First, the researcher's identity was likely to affect how the street children reacted and responded. To overcome this the researcher made every effort to become accepted and trusted by the children. This was achieved through volunteering with FOCA and undertaking ethnographic research on the streets. This involved 'befriending' the children through playing games, eating with them, providing medical treatment for minor wounds and keeping money safe for them when they wanted to save up to buy 'new' clothes. This was achieved through the help of a former street youth who was employed as a research assistant. Through this association,

the researcher was able to enter 'the street' and was accepted and trusted by the children. The involvement of this inside informer not only legitimised the researcher's presence in street child spaces but also broke down the barriers of language, fear and hostility.

Interaction with the children emphasised a second consideration, namely the issue of communication and language. The language barrier between the children's *Luyaaye* and the researcher's English needed to be overcome for effective communication. The use of visual methods, already discussed, reduced the need for oral interaction and, although the researcher made an effort to learn some *Luyaaye*, the research assistant also engaged in assisting the research through translation.

Finally, the above issues highlighted the need for minimal researcher influence. In part, the methods described here were used as a way to overcome such biases in the researcher's relationship to the children. For example photo diaries were used to capture scenes which outsider presence would have had an effect or where the researcher was unable to enter. Drawings and maps were also useful in changing the nature of the research and minimising the researcher's involvement as an 'outsider'. Such activities allowed the children to engage with the activity materials rather than have the researcher's presence imposed upon the research process. This, and the degree of acceptability that was awarded, helped to minimise the effects of 'outsider' research.

3.7 Method overview: survey and interview strategies with adults

The multi-method, triangulatory approach adopted has resulted in a plethora of methods being used. In order to accurately represent children's interactions with the social street it was necessary to obtain the views of other social actors involved. Through discussions with children a variety of categories and individuals were mentioned both in terms of positive and negative relations. For those who were named individually, semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain thoughts, reactions and views. For the others, however, only titles were mentioned such as 'police', 'public' or 'vendors' and therefore questionnaires and structured interviews had to be employed. Survey strategies will be reviewed first before looking at informal interviews.

3.7.1 Survey strategies

The diverse nature of the groups interacting with street children meant that it was not possible to carry out in-depth activities and therefore a variety of questioning methods had to be employed to suit each population. There were three categories for selection

identified: law enforcement officers; general public; and working public. Questionnaire and interview schedules for each category can be viewed in Appendix B.

law enforcement officer's questionnaire

With respect to law enforcers, access was difficult limiting suitable methods for use to questionnaire surveys. Inherent attention to detail both in layout and question-wording were essential for accurate understanding and therefore design was based on Robson's (1993) suggested layout. Open questions were kept to a minimum to avoid misinterpretation. Piloting ensured questions would be understood and closed questions cross-checked to make sure the possible answers were representative and accurate. Minor changes ensued from pilot suggestions. Out of 150 scripts each given to police officers and LDU members, 148 were returned by the police but only 52 were received from LDU representatives. The difference in return rate is envisaged to be due to problems of access and sampling, already outlined. However, the LDU are the group highlighted to be most problematic for street children and therefore less likely to agree to participate in research. This was noted when individuals were sought out for inclusion in semi-structured interviews, and may further illuminate the lack of response given.

structured interviews

A structured interview schedule was devised and administered to members of the public and members of street working groups. Interviews were conducted with 100 participants from each group. The intent here was not to obtain a representative sample given the problematic nature of accessing these groups. However, an attempt was made to gather the views of a cross section of street users in order to understand the myriad of interactions that take place on the street. Therefore short, individual, person to person, interviews were conducted either in English, Luganda or Kiswahili, with the help of a research assistant. This was to ensure that a large variety of views were covered. Given that generalisations about the whole population could not be made, this technique was coupled with unstructured observations for triangulation purposes.

3.7.2 Semi-structured and informal interviews

There were three different forms of interviews used, dealing with different populations and issues (see Appendix B for question schedules). Semi-structured interviews were used in conjunction with surveys to provide more in-depth data and informal interviews were used in two different settings. Key informants were selected for their involvement with,

and knowledge of, street children. Further, in-depth interviews, in the form of personal histories, were conducted with twenty adults who had previously lived on the street.

semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used to compliment and triangulate information gained through surveys. This was important given the difficulty in determining samples. From activity discussion with street children a list of individuals mentioned was devised and they were sought out with the help of the children. Interviews were based on both feelings and attitudes towards street children as well as the nature of the interaction. The main advantage to using this method was the greater depth in explanation gained from those who participated. More detail regarding interactive processes and why they took place provided greater insight into street interactions.

Problems with non-participation also arose. In general, it was much easier to gain consent from those who had a favourable relationship with street children than those who did not. This can be noted from the research diary extracts in Box 3.1 which explain the procedures used for contacting an antagonistic LDU member. Moreover, often when interviewing those who were regarded as having a negative influence on street children, they would often suggest that in fact they were kind to them. This led to problems with participants lying in order to gain favour with the researcher for fear of retaliation either through the media or other prominent routes. However, although this may have suggested lack of compatibility with children's statements, the research diary extract in Box 3.2 highlights how 'off-record' information showed the cover-up procedures employed by adults.

informal key informant interviews

It was essential to interview people who worked with street children in a professional capacity, not only to gain insight into previous work conducted and the lives of Kampala and Ugandan street children but also to understand the regulations and procedures in place for their movement into and out of street life. For this reason fifteen key informants were interviewed. This included: staff from ten NGOs, working both in and out of Kampala; Government officials, namely the Chairman for the National Council of Children, the Commissioner for Child Care and Protection, the Social Work Advisor to the Street Children Desk, and the Probation Officer in Kampala City Council; and Law Enforcement Officers, namely the Officer-in-Charge of Juveniles and the LDU Commander for Kampala. A more detailed list can be found in Appendix C.

Box 3.1: Difficulties in contacting possible informants

"Abbey and I went in search of Backfire, Yigga and Afende. The *Umeme*[17]. First we tried the City Council. We passed through some offices and ended up with a man in the City Law Office. At first we thought he might know the men we were looking for as he laughed when we mentioned them. However, he then said he had never heard any of their names before and left the room. When he came back he said they were probably police and we should try the City Council Offices near The Equatoria Hotel" (Research Diary, Tuesday 20th April, 1999)

"We also went to the police station in search of Room 25 (suggested by one of the street kids) in search of these plain clothes 'police'. The policeman there said he had heard of Backfire but that these men were LDU and don't go there very often. He said it was two weeks since he had seen Backfire but that we should try the police post at the Old Taxi Park.... Again the policeman wasn't very helpful but said the LDU normally go there around 8.00am in the morning and after 3.30pm in the afternoon...." (Research Diary, Wednesday 21st April, 1999)

".....the *Umeme* were not at the Old Taxi Park Police Post. The OC (officer-in-charge) there said they were not really LDU - just civilians the police used to help them. We were told to try at 7.00pm, but again they were not there and again we were told another time but they were not there. They are too scared and don't want to talk to us. This seems to confirm that they have some thing to hide. There was a female police officer there who called me over and said that I should try on Sunday morning as they would definitely be there. I decided to give it one last try...." (Research Diary, Friday 23rd April, 1999)

"....We arrived at the police post and the *Umeme* weren't there. I wasn't really surprised, particularly when the female police officer said they had just left. It was time to give up. Why they didn't just say they didn't want to be interviewed instead of hiding? This makes me think that the *Umeme* have something to hide...." (Research Diary, Sunday 25th April, 1999)

Box 3.2: The importance of observation during interviews

"Then we got directions from several children as to where we could find 'Mechanica'. One child said 'ask over there at that gate'. When we got there, there was a man in a cap and a large man. The large man was very pushy and forced his way to the front of the group to talk to me. He kept asking why I wanted to talk to Mechanica and I replied that I was doing research on street children and was interested in the places they went and as he was an important man in Owino Market I wanted to ask him some questions. The man replied that there might be others who were better able to answer my questions so why didn't I just talk to them. I said that the name I had been given as a good person to talk to was 'Mechanica'. Then he said "I am Mechanica". This caused much hilarity and after the group had stopped laughing and joking in Luganda, we conducted the interview in English. During the interview 'Mechanica' kept shouting to people passing by something in Luganda about the *'mzungu'*[18]. My lack of knowledge of the local language meant I couldn't really tell what was being said.... When we left the group Abbey [translator] told me that 'Mechanica' was actually the man with the cap but that he didn't want to talk to me. I was a bit annoyed by this.... I felt this had totally invalidated the interview so I asked Abbey why he didn't tell me. He said that they had trusted him as a Ugandan man and he couldn't tell me in front of them. Abbey then said that before the interview began, the large man standing in for 'Mechanica' had said in Luganda that he was going to tell me the truth about how Mechanica beats children. The real Mechanica had looked worried and said that he shouldn't tell me that.... Being an outsider in this instance not only got me an interview I otherwise would not have had, it also allowed me to gain information through the displaced loyalty of the insider...." (Research Diary, Friday 3rd March, 1999)

These interviews were informal and unstructured due to the different expertise and knowledge of the participants whereby flexibility was necessary to allow new issues to be

[17] *Umeme* is the Luganda word for electricity. The street children use this as a nick-name for plain clothes LDU officers.

[18] Kiswahili word for white foreigner.

uncovered. Due to the sporadic nature of the postal system, contact was made either by telephone or by visiting offices and arranging appointments in person. Often this resulted in two or three visits as secretaries were not able to arrange interviews *in absentia*. All interviewees were asked permission for the interviews to be taped in order to retain accuracy in their statements and all, except the Police Officer-in-Charge of Juveniles, agreed. Informal interviews were successful in that participants were willing to discuss street children and often expanded on issues in a way not previously considered by the researcher.

personal histories

This particular form of interviewing was conducted for two reasons. Not only did it provide historical information on the causes and lifestyle of street children as far back as the mid 1980s, but it also gathered information on the later stages of street life which could not be obtained from contemporary street children. Throughout the interviews it was easier to get adults to talk about their experiences as they were no longer on the streets. The interviews were conducted using a format that highlighted a few basic topics to cover. However, the individuality of personal experiences meant that an informal interview allowed much more detail to be elicited. The format was chronological in nature beginning with a discussion based on family life followed by detail concerning reasons for leaving home, street life and life after the streets. The researcher therefore acted more as facilitator than interviewer.

The advantages of using this method for understanding street life experiences were two-fold. First, individual interviewing personalised the data yet kept them anonymous. Many of the respondents were willing to be interviewed but did not wish their details to be disclosed as they preferred to forget about their time on the streets. In this instance, my position as an 'outsider' was beneficial to the research process; however, it also meant that group discussions or other collective activities were not possible. The role of the research assistant as an inside informer was useful in this situation, as his acquaintance with most of the interviewees was essential for quelling their fears and suspicions regarding the research. On one occasion it was noted that one young man interviewed preferred to recount the story of his friend as he felt his personal history was not very exciting. However, the nature of the interviews was not to collect information specific to the interviewees, but to uncover the possibilities of a life on the streets. As Lucchini (1996a) states, it is not the aim to determine whether statements were true or not but to develop an understanding of the processes, in this instance both social and spatial, that are at work.

3.8 Data analysis

The methodological philosophy adopted, and the plethora of methods used, highlights that analysis was an on-going process which began in the field and continued on return to Britain. Given the ethnographic basis for the method's employed, it is important to highlight the reflexivity of data analysis. As Okely (1994:21) states:

> "The anthropologist-writer draws also on the totality of the experience, parts of which may not, cannot, be cerebrally written down at the time.... Ideas and themes have worked through the whole being throughout the experience of fieldwork."

The actual process of fieldwork is the first stage of analysis in that it is the thoughts, feelings and interpretations of the researcher that impact on the experiences encountered and the field notes made. This compounds the fact that there is no prescriptive formula for analysing qualitative information (Robson, 1993).

Beginning with children's methods, much of the initial analysis was carried out by the children themselves, particularly with respect to the visual methods, as they provided explanations and reasons for their drawings, pictures and other images produced. This material, along with the other methods, was qualitatively analysed through processes of researcher description, classification, connection and accounting (Ley, 1993). Through this process the researcher and the researched could not be separated, highlighting the importance of participation throughout the research, from design to analysis.

With regard to the adult information, two types of qualitative analysis were employed. Although the information generated through questionnaires and interviews could not be generalised for the whole populations, the views recorded were descriptively analysed. Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) was initially employed to sort the data and gain a general understanding about the attitudes, views and feelings of the participants. Then the information was coded and classified in order to draw out thematic similarities and differences in their interactions with street children. The informal interviews, however, were related to specific experiences with individuals and therefore these interviews were used to explain the particular use of localities illustrated through coding the children's discussions, maps and photo diaries. The subjective analysis employed was validated through the use of extensive triangulation, particularly through the ethnographic experience and observation of the researcher (Robson, 1993).

3.9 Chapter summary

The theoretical underpinning of the new social studies of childhood, outlined and developed in Chapters 1 and 2, formed the basis for the methodology. The inclusion of a participatory and child-centred research philosophy was therefore at the forefront of the research design. However, to acknowledge that children are social actors highlights the importance of the inclusion of interactions they have with others, to develop a holistic understanding of street child experiences. Adult street users were therefore also included in the research process. Each population had to be accessed differently according to their needs and lifestyles and therefore a multi-method approach was adopted.

Ethnographic observation was implemented in order to develop an understanding of street life and culture and to build up relationships with street children in order to gain their interest and enthusiasm in the research process. This was an on-going part of the fieldwork and further served as an important triangulation and cross-checking device. Visual, oral and written methods were undertaken. Visual methods were considered useful in detailing information and involving children in the research process while minimising researcher input. Questionnaires, structured and informal interviews where developed for use with adult populations. This resulted, holistically, in a qualitative approach to understanding the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment. Having outlined the research process and design, the remainder of this thesis is based on this understanding, beginning with the wider national perspective.

4: Arriving in the city: an analysis of street child origins

4.1 Introduction

It is important to examine the specificities of a child's situation in Uganda in order to fully comprehend the motivations and survival strategies of street children. Before discussing the place of street children at the local level, this chapter seeks to examine street child geographies from the wider national perspective. This will not only develop a more comprehensive understanding of Ugandan society and therefore why children take to the city streets, but will also account for the geographical influence on such decisions. It is envisaged that this chapter will provide the background in which to situate the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment.

This chapter will therefore begin with an historical overview and review of the origins of street children in Uganda, with particular reference to Kampala, before examining the reasons for street children. This will begin with an enquiry at the micro-level prior to situating this within the political, economic and social dynamics of the country. The discussion will then be used to inform the final part of the chapter which goes on to situate the spatial origins of street children within this particular context. Through a combination of empirical and secondary evidence illustrating spatial origins and reasons, this chapter will conclude with an understanding of the context which will help to inform the local focus of the remainder of this thesis.

4.2 The emergence of street children in Uganda

4.2.1 Street children of the 1970s and 1980s

The emergence of street children can be traced back, through local secondary sources, to the 'Market Boys' of the early 1970s. Although not recognised as street children, these boys were homeless and congregated in markets and other busy places throughout the city engaging in informal employment, begging and criminal activities (Farrant, 1970; Naliwaiko, 1990). During the 1980s, however, the number of homeless children in Kampala rose due to war casualties (Anyuru, 1996; Rev. Dr. Kefa Sempangi, Africa Foundation and National Council for Children (NCC), Interview, 1999). At this time civil war in the Luwero triangle, the urban and peri-urban area surrounding Kampala, mostly affected wealthy urban nuclear families. Street children therefore resulted from family

breakdown, a lack of social support and parental death. Quote one in Box 4.1 shows that these '*bayaaye*'[19] could then be easily identified as street children.

Box 4.1: Street children of the 1970s and 1980s

"....[Y]ou could tell by the sign of dirt, here on the neck. And the general appearance will tell you this one is a street child because they were sleeping on the garbage. So that garbage pit was also a graveyard because if these children die, they left their bodies on the pit." (Rev. Dr. Kefa Sempangi, Africa Foundation and NCC, Interview, 1999)

"....[B]ecause the women did not have any skills or any form of income, they depended on the children and ended up sending children on the streets to beg for money or bring food, leftover food from the restaurants. And if the children didn't do that then they were beaten and harassed at home. So, some of the children stopped sleeping at home." (Ms. Christine Kamiti, Child Restoration Outreach (CRO) Mbale, Interview, 1999)

"There used to be quite a number of street children in Busia and Malaba, which is the next border crossing point into Kenya, and children were for quite sometime involved in border smuggling. They were used by business communities to smuggle goods across the border but it seems that since the Uganda Revenue Authority has been cutting down on smuggling a lot, there's a good number of children have left these places.... That's what was attracting people, I mean in Kampala trade is attracting a lot of people. Its the same in the border town. Some families they get stranded and then they don't get jobs. They were actually using children for cross-border trade and they were saying children are our only source of income. You know they, particularly the small children because those ones were not arrested by law enforcement. You could find 6 year old children carrying, you know, two packets of maize flour on their shoulders or smuggling bottles of beer. They would carry two bottles, one in each hand across the border and then they would run to and fro the whole day. That's what they were doing. I was in Malaba just some 2 days ago and I think the number has reduced tremendously. Its not such a big issue as it was 5 years ago." (Mr. Klaus Fehling, Street Children Desk, Interview, 1999)

In the provincial towns of Mbale and Jinja, it was Karamojong and Teso children that were taking to the streets. Although essentially rural districts, difficult circumstances of famine in Karamoja and civil war in Teso displaced many people who flocked to the urban areas searching for food. Families were disrupted into nuclear units and settled in the slum areas around towns such as Masese in Jinja and Namatala in Mbale, as is noted in the second quote in Box 4.1. The smaller border towns of Busia and Malaba were also centres of street child activity. However, the attraction here was that wages could be generated from smuggling goods across the border (Zuckerman, 1992; Munene and Nambi, 1993). According to Klaus Fehling this is less of a problem now than it was in the recent past (see the final quote in Box 4.1). Although it would seem that civil war and economic poverty were important in the emergence of street children in the 1970s and 1980s, the final extract has highlighted that the situation is constantly changing in line with society's fluctuations. Therefore, it is important to examine the emergence of street children in the last decade.

[19] *Bayaaye* is the collective Luganda term used to describe disreputable people; those who engage in illegal activities. Munene and Nambi (1993:3) cite Bring Children from the Streets (a street child organisation) who traced the word back to its original meaning: a stray cat that survives by scavenging.

4.2.2 Contemporary street children

Little published work is available on street children in Uganda, with the majority of previous studies based mainly on ascertaining numbers and examining services (Anyuru, 1996; Munene and Nambi, 1993, 1996). NGO surveys, although producing a wealth of information, are mostly descriptive in nature enabling the staff to develop greater awareness of the population they are dealing with, and their problems and needs, in order for effective strategies to be implemented. By reviewing these works a brief synopsis of the situation in Kampala can be determined, as this is where the majority of street children are located (Zuckerman, 1992).

Full-time street children are mostly boys aged above eight years, although Munene and Nambi (1993, 1996) identify a distinction between pre-adolescent and adolescent street children, stating that the former congregate at garbage sites where they conduct the majority of their activities. They illustrate that older youths depend more on their authority over girlfriends and younger boys for such necessities and gravitate further afield for income generating opportunities. Females are more difficult to find because traditional values result in fewer girls taking to the streets, instead becoming domestic servants or remaining at home. Once on the streets, survival sex often results in many girls being 'hidden' from the city at night. Survival is an integral part of being a street child and previous work has shown that many sleep in or around water tunnels, garbage sites, waste ground, corridors, shop verandas and abandoned houses (FOCA, 1992; Munene and Nambi, 1993). This, coupled with the fact that they are constantly dirty due to the nature of their work and a lack of free washing facilities, means many are suffering from skin diseases; fevers, wounds and sexually transmitted diseases (Munene and Nambi, 1993, 1996; Obbo, 1996). Previous reports illustrate that income generation is achieved by working in the markets, carrying items for people, scavenging, pick pocketing, begging and off-loading from trucks (Anyuru, 1996; FOCA, 1996). Furthermore, many are stated to be involved in petty crime and drug taking, such as smoking marijuana and inhaling fuel, to forget the lives they left behind (Anyuru, 1996; FOCA, 1992, 1996; Kasirye-Lugoloobi, 1993; Nabagasera, 1995; Obbo, 1996).

Survival is not helped by the negative attitudes many members of the public have towards street children. Further, they are branded as thieves or 'terrorists' by the media which hypes up this dangerous image:

> "Most of these kids have turned to terrorising people on the streets in broad daylight.... As soon as darkness falls, they strip women naked and rape them too! They also vandalise cars on the streets." (The Monitor, Dec. 30:1)

This review of street life in Kampala highlights similarities and differences both with street children from earlier decades and cities in other countries across the developing world as discussed in Chapter 2. However, fluctuations and changes must be highlighted. With respect to the causes of street children, poverty, parental death, broken families and step-parents appear to be central to their decision to leave home (Anyuru, 1996; FOCA, 1996, 1999; Munene and Nambi, 1993, 1996). This has changed over time and over space with population displacement in the East and insurgency in Central region creating street child populations during the 1980s (Anyuru, 1996). This chapter will now examine the origin of children currently on the streets.

4.2.3 The origins of street children: evidence from Kampala and other towns

The relative rurality of Uganda as a whole means that, at present, the city is still witnessing an influx of children from the rural areas, as is the case in Tanzania (Lugalla and Mbwambo, 1999), rather than from slum areas, as is the case in more urbanised places such as Nairobi, Durban or Lusaka.

> "But to give you a general picture, I would think most of the *part-timers* are mostly based in Kampala, the *full-timers* are coming from *outside* and most of them from the districts surrounding Kampala, in Central Uganda[20]." (Mr. Klaus Fehling, Street Children Desk, Interview, 1999)

To support this, Figure 4.1 shows the origins of Kampala street children obtained from the 1999 Kampala Street Child Census. The spatial representation makes it strikingly obvious that respondents are originating from Central region, namely those districts in close proximity to the capital. Mpigi, with the highest rate of 18.5 percent, in fact surrounds Kampala on three sides. This could suggest that the forces operating on the creation of street children are more heightened in Central region; or that there is a spatial influence on a child's decision to take to the streets. In order to investigate the importance of spatial proximity, information was collected from Jinja and Mbale given their relatively high street child populations and available statistics[21]. The origins of street children in these towns are found in Figures 4.2 and 4.3 respectively. Again, spatial proximity appears to be an important factor with both these examples showing that the

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[20] Respondent's own emphasis.

[21] Only two comparisons could be gained using secondary data collected from NGO street child censuses. Jinja is located in central district in relative proximity to Kampala, while Mbale is the administrative headquarters for the Eastern region and located approximately 180km from the capital.

majority of children are coming from nearby districts. In fact, over 20 percent of children located on the streets of Jinja claim to have come from Jinja district itself. More than 70 percent of Mbale street children are said to have come from Mbale district. This is not to rule out the idea that factors affecting child poverty are not more acute in these areas. In fact, this would explain why some major towns, particularly in the Northern and Western regions, are not witnessing significant populations of street children. What these data do suggest, however, is that children are migrating unaccompanied from the rural areas to their nearest town. This could suggest that spatial proximity is influencing the creation of street children. As Lugalla and Mbwambo note from their work in Tanzania, cities harbour:

> "....a culture of consumerism to which both the children and their parents, relatives and friends have been exposed, [and] compounds these socio-economic problems. This culture of consumerism contrasts greatly with conditions of abject poverty and squalor, and it motivates some of the children to seek alternative ways of life." (Lugalla and Mbwambo, 1999:342)

When faced with difficult circumstances at home, not every child will make the decision to take to the streets. However, 89.5 percent of respondents in the 1999 Kampala Street Child Census mentioned external factors to be their reason for leaving home. Therefore, when faced with a debilitating home life, some children will have the courage to go to the streets in search of a better life. Therefore, it may be possible to highlight, through an economic, political and social analysis, variations in the forces operating on the creation of street children in Kampala and other regions. Cultural considerations should not, however, be ruled out when explaining these spatial proximities. For example, the data displayed in Figure 4.3, shows that although Kapchorwa district is in close proximity to Mbale district, no Mbale street children claim to originate there. Although there are many possibilities as to why this anomaly should occur, the strong cultural ties that exist within the Kapchorwa extended family system create a safety net for those suffering from family breakdown and poverty.

> "Some rural districts in Kapchorwa - the community is still intact - don't hear of street children or welfare problems. Not affected by push and pull of urban - the values of that community are unique they are between Uganda and Kenya and are a small ethnic group. They keep to themselves and have strong traditional values." (Mrs. Rufina Ochago, Commissioner for Child Care and Protection, Interview, 1999)

However, given the relative spread of street children across the country and the clustering of areas of origin around urban areas, cultural difference does not appear to adequately explain these patterns except at a very localised level. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter seeks to analyse the geographical nature of street child causes in Uganda, with

particular reference to Kampala. This will initially be investigated at the micro-level[22] before widening the scope to examine the causes at the macro-level.

4.3 Creating street children: a situation analysis of children in Uganda

4.3.1 Examining the causes: the micro-level

No-one knows better than the children themselves what prompts them to leave home. Furthermore, awareness of these causes is important for understanding the spatial influence of causes on street children. Given this, the children were asked to give their reasons for coming to the city through the 1999 Kampala Street Child Census. Their answers provide an interesting overview of the factors influencing children to take to the streets in Kampala and are displayed in Table 4.1. It shows that there are three main reasons why children take to the streets namely: mistreatment (34.6 percent); economic poverty (25.7 percent); and parental death (20.6 percent). The reasons mentioned are principally 'push' factors that create conditions from which a child wants to leave, but it is important to note that 'pull' factors are also represented, albeit in a minor position. However, as this information was collected in an interview style it needed to be validated with other information (Dallape, 1987). The census was triangulated by a drawing session with 22 children. The images and explanations were cross-checked with the census data.

Table 4.1: Reasons for leaving home

Reason for leaving home as supplied by street children	Percentage (N = 235)
MISTREATMENT	**34.6**
Mistreated by Guardian	17.5
Mistreated by Parent	14.4
Fear of being beaten	2.7
ECONOMIC POVERTY ISSUES	**25.7**
No school fees	5.5
Poverty caused a search for work	20.2
DEATH	**20.6**
Death of parents	20.6
OTHER	**19.2**
Stubborn behaviour	6.6
Peer pressure	5.5
Attracted to the city	3.9
Committed criminal activity in the village	2.0
War/insurgency	0.8
Witchcraft	0.4

(Source: Author with FOCA and the NGO Network, 1999 Kampala Street Child Census)

[22] The micro-level is based at the level of the family and home life as opposed to the macro-level which comes from society itself (Bar-On, 1997).

mistreatment

Table 4.1 illustrates that just over one third of the children involved in the census claim to have left home because they felt they were being mistreated at home either by their parents or guardians. This was confirmed by triangulating this information with a picture drawing session. Overwhelmingly, 16 out of 22 children mentioned this in their pictures as the cause for their leaving home. This suggests that mistreatment is indeed a major factor in creating street children as illustrated by the picture and story in Figure 4.4. This particular image highlights the combination of living with a guardian who obviously did not care for this child, displayed through punishment by beating and sleeping outside. This latter punishment was compounded by this child's fear of being outside when it was dark.

Figure 4.4: L's story aged 10

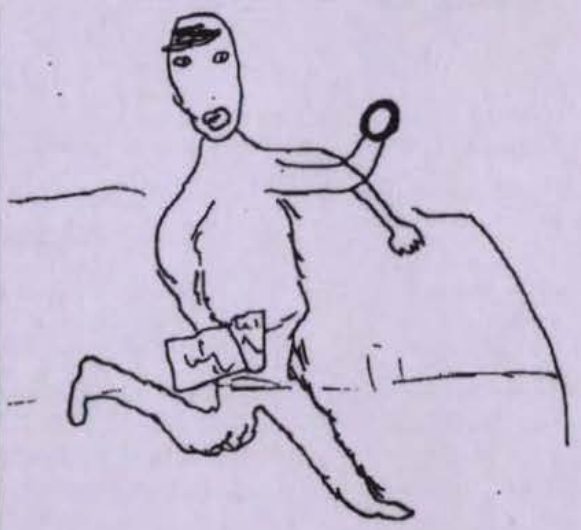
"My uncle was beating me because I delayed at the well. They [guardians] left me to sleep outside. I am crying. I was afraid to be outside at night."

economic poverty

The second most cited cause for leaving home in Table 4.1 was economic poverty with 25.7 percent of children giving this as their reason for taking to the streets. Although economic poverty was seldom mentioned in the pictures drawn by the children, it is felt that the abstract nature of this condition was more difficult to draw than other more

concrete conditions such as death or mistreatment factors are sometimes combined, it was possible for this to be omitted. Figure 4.5 represents this well. Here the image produced does not obviously represent 'economic poverty' but the ensuing explanation provided by this child cannot be categorised any other way, highlighting the difficulty for imaging this particular condition. A lack of food and money for school fees is therefore represented by this child leaving school and running away from home.

Figure 4.5: A's story aged 13



"This is me running from home because there was no food. I am crying because I had to leave school [no money to pay for fees]. When I left school I just ran and didn't go home."

parental death

Although parental death was the third most highly cited reason for children leaving home in Table 4.1, at 20.6 percent, it was the second most represented image in the picture drawing session. This supports the accuracy of the census data, given that it has already been established that 'economic poverty' is not easily represented in picture format. Furthermore, the pictures and subsequent explanations often combined parental death with guardian mistreatment and poverty as catalytic in the decision to leave home. The detailed drawing in Figure 4.6 illustrates this point. Parental death, and the subsequent child-care remaining with the step-mother, has resulted in her favouring her own children and mistreating the step-child through overwork and beating. Not only is this child facing the abuse of a step-parent but he is living in an environment where he is not related to the family.

Figure 4.6: Y's story aged 15

"I am digging. My step-mother is beating me and telling me to dig well. I am crying because my step-mother doesn't appreciate what I do. The children of the step-mother are playing outside the house while I have to work. I am collecting firewood but when I remember only me is working I cry. I am fetching water but I remember I am working a lot and I cry. This is where my father was buried. I always visit here and cry. This is my mothers grave."

the micro/macro relationship

Both the census data and the pictorial representations highlight the influence of immediate family circumstances on children taking to the streets. What is apparent from this is the level of understanding children have on the factors affecting their choices. They are concerned with, and ultimately focus on, their immediate environment (Matthews, 1980, 1986). However, as outlined in Chapter 2, the micro forces are all symptoms of the effect of greater structural forces operating at a wider level (Harper and Marcus, 2000; le Roux and Smith, 1998b). The UNICEF campaign 'Growing up Alone: the hidden cost of disease, poverty and war', launched in February 2000, highlights the macro impacts of these childhood experiences.

Street children are cited as one group who are growing up at risk, outside the love and security of a family environment (UNICEF, 2000a). Poverty is highlighted as a major cause of this isolation of many of the world's children. The number of people in poverty continues to grow as disparities between the rich and poor, both within and between countries, increases (Black, 2000; UNICEF, 2000b). The widening gap within the world

economy is having the greatest effect on women and children throughout the developing world, and particularly in sub-Saharan Africa (UNICEF, 2000b). The focus of child poverty in sub-Saharan Africa has therefore been fundamentally linked to three major forces impacting upon the region. Harper and Marcus (2000) illustrate that it is internal conflict, macro-economic polices, and HIV/AIDS that affect social capital and human development and therefore are defined as the prime determinants of child poverty.

> "The costs of poverty are disproportionably absorbed by children who, when livelihoods fail, give up school, are neglected in health and nutritional terms and take up paid and unpaid labour, in particular household labour, to replace that of parents who are engaged in seeking additional income. Being relatively powerless, children also absorb the social and psychological costs of poverty within the household and society, such as abuse from parents as a result of alcoholism or poverty induced depression and broader familial and social violence." (Harper and Marcus, 2000:4)

This, and the discussion of street child causes in Chapter 2, illustrates that poverty, viewed holistically, may produce negative effects on the family that impinge on a child's decision to take to the streets. Therefore it is necessary to illuminate the background situation of child poverty within Uganda as a whole in order to situate accurately these familial experiences. The next three sections will examine child poverty by reviewing civil conflict, macro-economic policies and HIV/AIDS in Uganda.

4.3.2 The context of child poverty in Uganda: civil conflict

Since gaining independence in 1962 Uganda has witnessed a volatile political leadership under a series of militant extremists. Ethnic conflicts and internal strife have turned the country's political, economic and social institutions to ruin. Between 1980 and 1985 the current President, Yoweri Museveni, as leader of the rebel faction the National Resistance Movement (NRM), engaged in civil insurgency with the government. This was because he was outraged by the falsified election that had resulted in Milton Obote being reinstated as the President (Apter, 1995; Brett, 1995; Brittain, 1986; Furley and Katalikawe, 1997; Mutibwa, 1992; Omara-Otunnu, 1992). This ravaged the Luwero triangle area, just north of Kampala, producing enormous effects on families and children. Barton and Wamai, (1994) state that out migration was a major factor as people sought refuge from the war in neighbouring countries such as Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, and safer urban areas within Uganda. Further, many children lost their parents through fighting around their homes, while the parents of others joined the armies hoping for a solution to the country's political and economic chaos (Warner, 1995). Children, abandoned in this way, turned to the streets for protection and survival and to avoid being conscripted into the NRM as child soldiers (Furley, 1998).

In 1986 five years of fighting ended as the NRM came to power and a number of changes ensued (Dicklitch, 1995) with Museveni claiming he could rejuvenate the country (Omara-Otunnu, 1992). The NRM victory was seen as one of south over north, and thus created the prospect of discrimination, neglect and marginalisation that resulted in pockets of conflict, particularly in the Northern areas, as guerrilla groups continued to be supported (Brett, 1995). The most serious threat to the NRM has been from the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) under the leadership of Joseph Kony. Orphans of civil war were thus still being produced throughout the 1990s, albeit in different geographical locations across Uganda (Dicklitch, 1995). Furthermore, Kony's LRA has been noted to engage in the abduction, rape, and mutilation of school children. Other rebel groups have herded civilians into 'protected villages' lacking basic health and sanitation facilities (Oloka-Onyango, 1997).

> "Northern Uganda today faces an acute humanitarian crisis.... The infrastructure in Gulu and Kitgum is in a state of collapse. The constant danger of land mines and rebel ambushes has made many of the region's few roads unsafe for travel... Agriculture has come to a standstill in parts of the region, since the insecurity has forced people to flee their homes and abandon their fields. Education, too, has stopped in many places." (Human Rights Watch; 1997b:53-54)

The effects of conflict have not only impacted directly on children's lives, through health and education disruption (Harper and Marcus, 2000), but have resulted in parental deaths and forced migration all of which contribute to exacerbating child poverty and, as already noted, street children.

4.3.3 The context of child poverty in Uganda: macro-economic policy

Economically, the NRM inherited a devastated and chaotic situation that resulted from years of internal conflict and a failed Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) which relied heavily on currency devaluation, increasing producer prices, dismantling of price controls and interest rate controls (Dicklitch, 1995; Mutibwa, 1992; Omara-Otunnu, 1992). However, Museveni implemented policies to revive local economies with visible signs of recovery noted in the local markets. The formal sector is once again flourishing and economic growth is estimated to be between six and seven percent per annum since the NRM take over (Apter, 1995; Cullimore, 1994). This was achieved by the implementation of a second ESAP in 1987 (Bigsten and Kayizzi-Mugerwa, 1992).

Reaction to the reforms was mixed. On the one hand, there has been a reaction against the policy highlighting it as deepening the poverty of the people. Mamdani (1990) states that under the two programmes it was the workers that were hardest hit with a depreciation of 30 percent in public sector wages during the second phase. This resulted in a dramatic

decrease in the purchasing power of public employees forcing many to supplement their wages with informal activities in order to feed their families. This can be supported by Nabuguzi (1994:14) who states that the decrease in civil servant wages forced them into 'using their influence to gain access to parallel activities'. Furthermore, increases in the price of food resulted in families engaging in urban agriculture on Kampala's waste land to meet their daily needs (Nabuguzi, 1994; Maxwell, 1998). Rural areas also faced increasing poverty. Any real increase in wages, due to increased producer prices, were offset by lost subsidies in transport, education and health care (Mamdani, 1990, 1991). According to Jamal (1998), even with structural adjustment emphasising traditional agrarian exports, gains in this area were difficult due to falling international prices. What has occurred has been a 'de-agrarianising' of the economy with people moving to the urban areas and an upsurge in the informalisation of the economy.

Commendable gains, however, have been made to the point where Uganda is the only country to have reached 'completion point' of debt cancellation under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative (Jubilee 2000 Coalition, 2000a). However, this is a very recent decision with only 67 percent of total debt cancelled (Jubilee 2000 Coalition, 2000b) and 69 percent of GNP still committed to external debt (UNICEF, 2000b). The legacy of ESAP remains in terms of the long term costs to society of negative social impacts with more than ten percent of the population surviving on less than one dollar per day (UNICEF, 2000b). This is particularly notable when examining the Human Development Index (HDI)[23] and the Human Poverty Index (HPI)[24] levels for Uganda. The majority of districts, especially those in the north and west have large percentages of their populations considered as 'human poor' and human development levels are incredibly low with only Kampala district reaching moderate levels (UNDP, 1998). The economic poverty created out of Uganda's troubled political history has resulted in resource diversion away from necessary social services towards military spending.

social impacts on children

Table 4.2 highlights that Uganda falls seriously short in many aspects of social development compared to the developing world as a whole. For example, just under half of all children enrolled in primary education drop out in the early stages. The result is that 200,000 children leave school each year without having completed three years of

[23] The Human Development Index is an index developed by UNDP based on three factors related to value in human life: they are life expectancy at birth, educational attainment and standard of living as measured by GDP (adjusted).

[24] The Human Poverty Index is an index developed by UNDP based on deprivation in three essential dimensions of human life: they are vulnerability to death at a young age, exclusion from the world of reading and communication, and standard of living based on overall economic provision.

schooling, the majority of whom will remain illiterate for life (Oxfam, 1996). Although far from completion, the Ugandan Government is trying to rectify the situation through the introduction of free Universal Primary Education (UPE).

Table 4.2: Uganda's human welfare indicators

(Source: UNDP, 2000; *UNICEF, 2000b)

The public health service has also been hit hard by the political and economic changes that have occurred in recent decades (Macrae *et al.*, 1996). The major causes of illness and death in Uganda are preventable with malaria accounting for 19 percent of deaths in 1992 and diarrhoea nine percent (Barton and Wamai, 1994; Oxfam, 1996; Vella *et al.*, 1992, World Bank, 1993). These conditions arose due to poverty manifesting itself in poor housing, low income, illiterate parents, unprotected water, poor drainage, and a lack of resources for proper personal hygiene. Further, much of this deprivation is concentrated in rural areas. Of the 54 percent who do not have access to clean drinking water the majority are rural people; 72 percent of rural people compared to only 42 percent of urban populations are affected in this way (UNDP, 1998). As the urban population is relatively small at 13.2 percent, this suggests that the majority of the population are suffering from a lack of basic human needs. It is not surprising then, that rural to urban migration is rapid with the urban population expecting to rise to 20.7 percent by 2015 (UNDP, 1999).

Macro-economic policy appears to be contributing greatly to child poverty, particularly through a lack of social service provision. It is evident that large numbers of people are affected by poor access to health care and impoverished education systems inherited from a legacy of previously damaging political instability. As noted by Harper and Marcus (2000), investment in children as part of 'human capital' formation across sub-Saharan Africa, through formal or informal education or the provision of nutritious food has

increasingly become a luxury beyond the reach of the poorest people. The result is that children absorb much of the stress of economic difficulties and will often engage in income generation. The situation in Uganda suggests that although gains are being made, previous macro-economic policies have contributed to current levels of child poverty.

4.3.4 The context of child poverty in Uganda: HIV/AIDS

Harper and Marcus (2000) illustrate that the scale of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, coupled with the fact that it is an incurable disease mainly affecting young adults, results in an unprecedented effect on child poverty. AIDS was first recognised in Uganda in Rakai district in 1982 and since then has dramatically increased in prevalence and geographical spread (Barton and Wamai, 1994; UNDP, 1999). The concentration of the disease coincides with the heavily urbanised areas in Central region (Cliff and Smallman-Raynor, 1992). Although the rate of infection in Uganda is reducing, as awareness increases, having fallen from 14 percent in the early 1990s to eight percent in 1998; the effects of HIV infections acquired years ago still continues (Konde-Lule, 1996; UNAIDS, 2000). Furthermore, due to heterosexual transmission, both men and women are almost equally infected (Armstrong, 1995; Caldwell and Caldwell, 1996) and it is the younger generations who appear to have the highest seroprevalence rates (Hollander, 1996). The socio-economic consequences have been felt in many sectors including health, education, industry, agriculture and human resources as it is the working population who are falling sick and dying (Barnett and Whiteside, 1999; Lyons, 1998; UNAIDS, 2000). Furthermore, as the majority of cases have been reported in the 20 to 30 year age group, the result is that many parents are dying while their children are still young (Lyons, 1998; Republic of Uganda/UNICEF, 1993).

Much work has been done on the reasons for Uganda's AIDS crisis. Cultural factors, such as a fairly high level of male pre-marital and extra-marital sex including commercial sex, with different partners, are noted to be conducive to the spread of the disease (Barnett and Whiteside, 1999; McGrath *et al.*, 1993; Obbo, 1993). Therefore, several theories have arisen to explain its geographical spread. First, Larson (1990) suggests that HIV has spread from urban areas of labour demand to rural areas of supply due to return migration, thereby producing a more concentrated effect in densely populated districts. Second, Wood (1988) states that this pattern could have been produced due to trading links as the areas of high incidence are located on the main truck routes within the country. Truck routes also have large numbers of prostitutes due to high demand. Third, it has been suggested that army recruitment correlates well with the incidence of the disease due to soldiers contact with prostitutes during the war (Omara-Otunnu, 1987).

More importantly, given that it is the work force and child care-giving populations that are affected most, it will, in turn, adversely affect the lives of children.

the impact of HIV/AIDS on children

HIV/AIDS impacts on children at several levels. First, in Uganda women are traditionally responsible for providing food, caring for children and for the general health care of the family (Ankrah, 1991; Obbo, 1998). If one family member falls sick through AIDS related illness, this increases the daily burden of female household members. In turn, increases in household responsibilities and caring duties are placed on children, particularly girls, to supplement family survival (Robson, 2000; Robson and Ansell, 2000). Furthermore, if the family breadwinner becomes ill or dies, income and savings diminish as families struggle to provide treatment and comfort for the patient (Ntozi, 1997a). This often results in disrupted education, or the termination of a child's school career due to lack of school fees and, more specifically, to increasing commitments at home (Obbo, 1998).

Second, because young adults have the highest rates of infection and adults in their 40s and 50s are now dying, this results in a very small number of adults available to support and care for children and old people (Lyons, 1998). Families with a reduction in skilled labour are known to send children out to work in times of crisis in order to support the family (Topouzis and Hemrich, 1999). Given this, it is likely that children in families affected by AIDS may consider taking to the streets.

Finally, the greatest effect of AIDS on child poverty must be the specific case of orphanhood[25] (Preble, 1990). Uganda has the largest number of AIDS orphans in sub-Saharan Africa with a cumulative total of 1.7 million children, despite many other countries having higher seroprevalence rates (UNAIDS/WHO, 2000). Although others have been created through civil unrest, the greatest majority are linked to parental death from previously high HIV infection rates (Barnett and Blaikie, 1992; Kamali *et al.*, 1996). After the mother or both parents die, the burden of care for orphans falls on traditional extended family networks (Ntozi, 1997b). The Baganda, in particular, believe that children are in the custody of the entire family, not just the natural parents (Dunn, 1992).

It is often ageing grandparents who do not have the resources, either physical and financial, to support large numbers of orphan children, that end up as carers (Barnett and Blaikie, 1992; Beer *et al.*, 1988; Ntozi, 1997b). However, often several family members

[25] Orphans in Uganda are those children under 18 years of age with one or both parents who are dead (Ntozi, 1997b). However, the United Nations definition is any child under 15 years.

contract the virus, and orphaned children find that they become a burden to the extended family missing out when sacrifices have to be made (Hunter, 1990). Further, many relatives have been known to accrue the assets of the deceased in return for caring for orphaned children. This often leaves orphans with no inheritance (Alden *et al.*, 1991). Ntozi (1997b) found that AIDS orphans across Uganda suffered from lack of financial support (54.5 percent) and lack of parental care (34.9 percent). The same is true for children who are taken on by foster parents. Hunter (1991) notes that after the age of six foster parents provide less services to the orphans in their care, than they do to their biological children, possibly using female orphans as household helpers. Institutionalised care is a possibility if there is no extended family. However, due to lack of resources, more children are remaining in the family home alone (Hunter, 1990). Although support for child-headed households is available, such as the Rakai Foster Parents Group or the Orphans Community-Based Organisation which identify and assist children in need, the number reached is limited (Barnett and Blaikie, 1992; WHO/UNICEF, 1994).

As well as the socio-economic difficulties associated with being an AIDS orphan, there is also great emotional and psycho-social trauma associated with the loss of a parent. Sengendo and Nambi (1997) found that adult carers tend to give little importance to children's emotions and do not appreciate that they are adversely affected by bereavement. From their discussions they discovered that children were happy and relaxed prior to a parent falling sick while the loss of a loved one brought depressive thoughts and feelings of anger, sadness and guilt. This may result in a lack of concentration on school or work and 'perceived' difficult behaviour from children. In turn, this may lead to abuse by adults who find it difficult to cope with the care of many orphaned children.

The implications of HIV/AIDS and subsequent orphanhood on children in Uganda is profound particularly when the burden is too great for the extended family to bear. Children then have to drop out of school in order to contribute to household incomes, or livelihoods, while emotional stress may produce difficult or uncooperative behaviour (Harper and Marcus, 2000; Sengendo and Nambi, 1997). Alden *et al.*, (1991) expect that this will result in children trying to go to towns and cities to earn a living where they will inevitably become street children. Similarly Bourdillon (1999) suggests that when parents from poor households die, particularly if there is no extended family network as is the case in many cities, those children remaining may have to rely on their own resources on the streets. This is supported by Hunter's (1990) work in Kyotera. Through interviews it became clear that almost 200 children had gone to the streets and were living unsupervised stealing food or picking pockets to pay their way.

4.4 Understanding street child causes: an analysis of origins and poverty impacts

The preceding review of street children's reasons for taking to the streets, and the associated macro influences of child poverty in Uganda, has highlighted that insurgency, economic fragility and HIV/AIDS have serious negative impacts on children. The ensuing results are often cityward migration, an increase in children's workloads, and the subsequent creation of street children (Harper and Marcus, 2000). However, what has tended to be ignored in detailed analyses of the reasons why children take to the streets is the geographical impact. In order to determine the importance of spatial influence on street children, it is therefore necessary to consider together the origins of street children and the societal impacts placed upon them. Therefore, attention will now focus on the relationship between the geographical origins of street children and the macro forces in operation that create unsuitable living conditions at the micro-level. Each will be discussed respectively with reference to the street children of Kampala, Mbale and Jinja.

4.4.1 The macro effect of civil conflict: a spatial analysis

Although insurgency in the Luwero region impacted upon the surge in Kampala's street children during the 1980s, the majority of rebel activity is now concentrated in the Northern and Western regions. Figures 4.7a, b and c compare this information with the areas of street child origin. When such comparisons are made, what can be noted is the relative lack of street children emerging from regions of conflict for all three of the selected centres of street child concentration, with less than 5 percent coming from any of the Northern or Western districts. Furthermore, when returning to Table 4.1, only 0.8 percent of those children involved in the census claimed to have left home due to the effects of war. However, as already noted, children tend to concentrate on the familial level effects and it could be construed that economic poverty, parental death and subsequently mistreatment, may be consequences of living in an area of conflict.

Therefore, it is not possible to rule out conflict in the creation of street children. In the Northern town of Kitgum, for example, nearly half of the displaced people are children, and more than a third of those children have been orphaned by the war (Human Rights Watch, 1997b). However, the added fear this places on children may hinder them from attempting survival alone in the towns. Moreover, with respect to the Northern region, it has been pointed out that, although children have been found to be on the streets in Gulu and Arua, they have been distinguished from street children as internally displaced and traumatised children and generally only remain there briefly. Most are reunited very

quickly with their families through the good rehabilitation fabric provided by Save the Children's GUSCO centre and World Vision's trauma counselling centres in Gulu and Masindi. Here children learn skills such as tailoring and bricklaying and after training return home to school or start work in one of the towns. They cannot be credited full-time street child status.

> "In a place like Gulu, for instance, you may find a lot of displaced children who hang around the streets of the town for security reasons. I mean they will leave their villages when there are attacks by rebels and some of them get separated from their parents or they are abducted or whatever.... I would think it is a little bit different from what we are looking at when we take the children in Kampala or Mbale, for example.... the traumatised, abducted children; but I wouldn't call those really street children...." (Mr. Klaus Fehling, Street Children Desk, Interview, 1999)

> "In Masindi they do skills training.... After training, many go to Gulu town or other towns.... [there] they tend to sleep with relatives, or rent rooms but the majority attempt to go home...." (Dr. Ham Owori, World Vision, Interview, 1999)

For others who can return home to parents and relatives, the trauma they have suffered and their need for parental love shows that many are willing to risk re-abduction just to return home.

> "The traditional fabric is that people want to belong to families and due to sensitisation, they are welcomed back into the community. The neighbourhood don't outcast them, they see them as their children. Also the NGOs and the government encourage people to integrate these children and not take them to courts as rebels. Community networks help them even to go to school." (Dr. Ham Owori, World Vision, Interview, 1999)

Therefore, although rebel insurgency is creating structural problems in the North, a good support structure for abducted children is helping them to rebuild their lives and return to their families. It is not surprising that children who have undergone such traumas or live in fear of abduction are likely to remain in the home and family.

In the West the situation is more recent with heightened rebel activity due to the Democratic Republic of Congo civil war. The recentness of this may explain the fact that so few children from the West have made their way to Kampala and should it continue it is possible that it may have an effect particularly in the Western towns such as Kabale, where street children are already known, albeit on a small scale (Personal Observation, 2nd Jan. 1999).

What can be concluded from this analysis is that street children do not appear to be a product of civil war at present. What is interesting to note, however, is that when conflict raged close to the large urban areas during the 1980's it did in fact act as a catalyst for

children taking to the streets. Now, as the insurgency has turned to 'bush war' fighting its influence appears to have waned.

4.4.2 The macro effect of macro-economic policy: a spatial analysis

When examining the impact and geographical influence of economic policies on Uganda and their resultant poverty effects, HPI and HDI have been used to show district level variations. Figures 4.8a, b and c and Figures 4.9a, b and c compare these respectively to street child origins for the three selected case study areas. When looking at Figures 4.8a, b and c it appears to be the richer districts, namely those with the lowest HPI, that are the main street child producers. Those areas around the Central and Eastern belt that are large producers of street children such as Mpigi, Masaka, Jinja and Mbale are in fact districts with low levels of human poverty when compared to Uganda as a whole. Similarly when examining Figures 4.9a, b and c the general relationship is that street children are emerging from areas with a greater level of human development. This cannot rule out the fact that it may still be children from the poorest families that take to the streets. The conclusion drawn from this is that it is not poverty alone that is causing children from these areas to take to the streets. This suggests that large wealth disparities may play a role given that children often cited economic poverty related factors as important criteria in their decision to leave home (see Table 4.1). This is synonymous with Lugalla and Mbwambo's (1999) suggestion that a culture of consumerism is attracting poverty-stricken children to street life.

Returning to the idea that proximity to major urban centres influences children in taking to the streets, it can be noted that these areas of lower HPI and higher HDI appear to be related to metropolitan areas. It is these urbanised domains where the greatest disparities between rich and poor exist, not necessarily in real terms but in consumption terms, and therefore it is in and around cities where wealth disparities are most visible. It is possible to suggest that such a culture of consumerism infiltrates local villages acting as a force of discontentment among the communities as services and economic activity can be seen to flourish in the towns and cities. In this respect then, although not poverty-stricken in the literal sense, it is reasonable to suggest that when faced with difficulties in their home life, children who are more conscious of the opportunities available in the cities may take the decision to maintain their own survival.

4.4.3 The macro effect of the HIV/AIDS epidemic: a spatial analysis

Parental death and problems related to step-parenting have been highlighted as the most important catalyst impacting on a child's decision to take to the streets (Table 4.1). In

Uganda the major structural factor influencing life expectancy and changing family structures has already been ascertained as HIV/AIDS. The spread of the virus was coupled with a subsequent upsurge in the number of orphans burdening relatives and communities. Figures 4.10a, b and c compare the extent of the disease with street child origins. Although it is necessary to be cautious of such figures, as many people are unaware of their HIV status and rates are now beginning to fall, a distinctive pattern can be seen. The most affected areas are those districts along the Lakeshore in Central and Eastern regions suggesting a relationship with street child origins for both Kampala and Jinja. However, when moving further away from the coastal area to Mbale (Figure 4.10c), the relationship between street child origins and AIDS cases is less significant suggesting that other issues may be more prevalent in this particular location.

However, fewer children are coming from Rakai and Sembabule districts which have the same level of HIV/AIDS cases as Masaka and Mpigi highlighting that HIV/AIDS itself does not conclusively influence children to take to the streets. This does not rule out the relationship between HIV/AIDS, parental death and street children as it may be that those children going to Kampala from Mpigi and Masaka are doing so as a result of AIDS deaths. What this does suggest, however, is that some children who are affected by HIV/AIDS either through guardian mistreatment, poverty or orphanhood, will take the decision to travel to the city, based on their spatial proximity. Therefore children who are faced with difficult circumstances in the home are not likely to leave unless they are also in close proximity to a town or city. Furthermore, it is more likely that children from Rakai district would travel to the nearby town of Masaka, a closer street child centre. Given the high profile of Rakai's HIV/AIDS crisis in the past (Hunter, 1991), NGO support in the district has been helping to reduce the burden on children and extended family networks, thus possibly suppressing the number of children taking to the streets.

When examining the effects of HIV/AIDS on children the number of orphans created must also be considered. The death of adults in the productive years can be expected to produce high levels of orphans in both the Lakeshore and Northern regions, although conflict areas such as the north and west may also show significant levels. Figures 4.11a, b and c graphically represent this information showing that generally, the highest absolute numbers of orphans are located in the AIDS scourged locations. Therefore a similar analysis can be made in that large numbers of orphaned children place overwhelming burdens on extended family and community networks. This may result in the neglect or mistreatment of a child and, when coupled with relative closeness of the urban centres, cause him or her to take to the streets.

4.4.4 An analysis of origins and poverty impacts

The comparative analysis of macro- micro-level influences and street child origins, appears to be inconclusive. Although there is evidence to suggest that poverty related factors are influencing a child's decision to take to the streets this is only partially represented spatially. However, children are not expressing attraction of urban areas as a major reason for leaving home (Table 4.1). Instead this suggests that geographical proximity to the city acts as an incentive to children who are faced with problems at home. This is particularly apparent when examining the effects of insurgency. In the past when war raged close to Kampala, many of the street children were there as a result of the conflict. Now, however, fighting is contained further from the capital and insurgency is hardly cited as a reason for leaving home. Furthermore, according to Mr. Klaus Fehling (Street Children Desk, Interview, 1999), those towns harbouring full-time street children are mostly located in the urbanised Central and Eastern regions with virtually none in the Northern areas. They are, most notably, Kampala and Masaka in the centre; Kabale, in the west; Jinja, Mbale, Soroti, Tororo, and Busia in the east. This suggests that when people migrate to the cities, problematic circumstances force them out of the rural areas although they are also attracted by urban centres. As one NGO worker emphasises:

> "The push factors are the negative which tend to scare children from staying in rural areas.... Then there are also some factors which pull them to town.... Some of them get a few coins and they spend the whole day in the film." (Mr. Robert Ssenyonjo, PACOIN, Interview, 1999)

Although there is a clustering of children coming from proximal areas, and it would make economic sense for a child to go to the nearest urban centre, the situation is more complicated for Kampala. However, given that it is the capital city, children coming from outlying areas may first travel to local towns and engage in street life there before moving to Kampala. This has been noted to be the case in the major towns of Mbale, Jinja and Masaka (Ms. Ingrid Wilts, CRO Jinja, Interview, 1999). Many children in Kampala, who have come from more distant locations only travelled there after spending time as a street child in their local town. In Masaka, for instance, Buddukiro Children's Agency was established to halt the flow of children from Masaka town to Kampala (Mrs. Phyl Jones, Buddukiro Children's Agency, Interview, 1998); and in Mbale, CRO noted that children often get bored staying in one place and get attracted to the 'bright lights' of the capital city. Periodically, children also come back and encourage their friends to 'try out' Kampala (Ms. Christine Kamiti, CRO Mbale, Interview, 1999). The quotes in Box 4.2 show that not only are children migrating to the towns to become street children but the street children themselves are also migratory, moving to Kampala in search of adventure.

Therefore it would be expected that a greater mix of children from Uganda converge in the capital.

Box 4.2: Street children's migratory movements

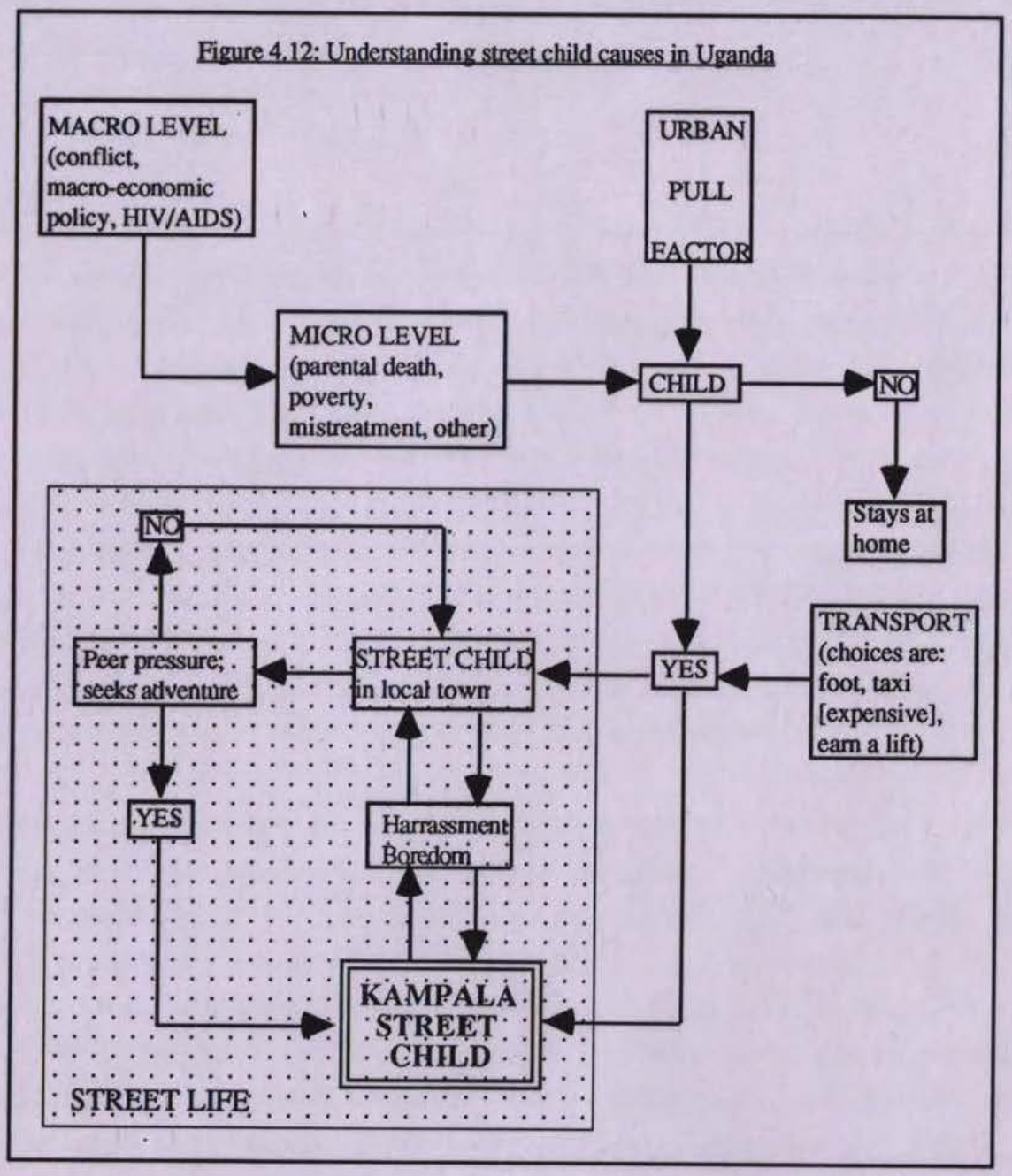
"C: .... They also keep going to Kampala and back."
"L: Why do you think they are doing that?"
"C: I think street children also get, they get tired of staying in one place. They are really adventurous. I mean someone leaves their home and coming to live on the street, they get bored with the life in this town and they want to try out something new in Kampala. Even they get stories from their friends; 'why don't you visit Kampala? You'll do this, you'll do this, you'll get that' and then also they are attracted because of the films. They say 'oh, in Kampala you see a lot of films. So they go'." (Ms. Christine Kamiti, CRO Mbale, Interview, 1999)

"L: Why do you think they are coming to Kampala?"
"W: Adventure, I think, they often move after the police has raided them at night, and they move on to Kampala.... Some just want to see. We had one who just went for a day and came back, he said he didn't like it. So, just curiosity." (Ms. Ingrid Wilts, CRO Jinja, Interview, 1999)

This analysis illustrates that there appear to be two influences impacting on a child's decision to take to the streets. First of all, deterioration in family and home life through insurgency, economic poverty and AIDS creates the condition for a child to be unhappy with home life. However, for this to have a great enough impact for a child to leave home there must be another catalyst present. This catalyst appears to be proximity to urban centres. Therefore, street children, at present, are the creation of a series of inter-related structural factors which vary according to the initial geographical location. The result is unacceptable micro conditions in the home forcing children to take to the 'attractive city streets'. Furthermore, once on the streets in a provincial town, boredom sets in and children often desire to move on to the capital, particularly as others who have already ventured there, return with exciting stories (Ms. Christine Kamiti, CRO Mbale, Interview, 1999).

Figure 4.12 shows how these factors interlock to impinge on a child's decision to leave home. The macro-level forces of conflict, macro-economic policy and HIV/AIDS, are inter-related and change over time. From these factors difficult micro-level circumstances are created in communities. Then, together with the opportunities presented in urban areas, a child makes the decision to leave based on spatial proximity to such opportunities. This may also be impacted upon by transport options as some areas will be more accessible than others from Kampala. When in the local town, a child may be influenced by peer pressure or become bored and then travel on to the capital city. This may result in that child staying in Kampala or returning to the local town, depending on experience.

Figure 4.12: Understanding street child causes in Uganda



The government is attempting to address the issue of street children through HIV/AIDS sensitisation and the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) focusing on agricultural modernisation and developing service provision in rural areas. However, this will take time (UNDP, 1998). Furthermore, decentralisation of government responsibilities will mean districts can now begin to plan for their own development, although problems still remain. As noted by Mr. Klaus Fehling, the transformation process is a difficult time.

> "The functions of the central government appear to be more and more trimmed down because of decentralisation process and the devolution of power, which is very good for us because we are already doing more than our capacity. But the problem we are facing at the moment is the district administrations do not have the capacity either to do what is expected from them. It needs a lot of effort to build capacity at district level." (Mr. Klaus Fehling, Street Children Desk, Interview, 1999)

Therefore, until resources become available at the local level it is expected that there will be an influx of children on to the urban streets.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter began by contextualising the study within a wider geographical perspective. In the past little spatial research has been incorporated into street child studies in Uganda and therefore this chapter aimed to consider the reasons why street children take to the streets by considering the influence of spatial proximity. Comparisons were made between Kampala and other towns where moderate levels of street children are known. After illustrating a clustering of street child origins around these major urban centres, an analysis was undertaken into the causal explanations provided by the children themselves. The children elucidated guardian mistreatment, parental death and economic poverty as prime determinants in their decision to seek survival elsewhere. These micro-level factors were then related to the wider structural forces operating upon Ugandan society. Conflict, macro-economic policy and HIV/AIDS were discussed as factors affecting child poverty, which was illustrated to result in street children (Harper and Marcus, 2000).

Following this discussion, an analytical comparison was made between the structural causes and street child origins. Although an inconclusive relationship was noted, influences did appear to be present both for spatial proximity and child poverty. The resulting conclusion determined that the decision to take to the streets is a complex one impacted upon by a web of structural factors and ease of access to urban areas which harbour a plethora of opportunities. Furthermore, movement to one local town does not curtail further mobility and often children travel towards the capital after spending some time in a local town. The result is a more complex pattern of street child spatial origins.

This chapter has begun to delve into street child geographies. Although examining the position of street children from a national perspective, the discussion has illustrated the complexity of understanding use of space and motivations for particular socio-spatial interactions. The remainder of this thesis seeks to develop this understanding at the local level, focusing on street children in Kampala city centre.

5: The place of street children: adapting spatial niches on the urban landscape

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter has examined the place of street children within Uganda from the national perspective, investigating their geographies of origin and situating this within wider societal structures. The conclusion reached is that the rise of the street child population in Uganda, and specifically Kampala, has been the result of a breakdown in traditional family structures triggered by a multiplicity of socio-economic and political changes, within proximity to urban centres. This chapter moves on to look at how this is manifest locally within the city through the emergence of 'street childhoods'. This not only highlights the socio-economic problems that exist but transforms the spatial unification of the urban environment through increasing fragmentation of the city as a single place. Those fragments of the cityscape that become street child niches take on an identity commensurate with the nature of street life.

Drawing on the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 which highlights numerous insights into street life, this chapter provides a description and explanation for street children's spatial processes. This begins with a city-wide discussion of street children, illustrating the researcher's decision to work with those in the city centre. Then, through brainstorming sessions, the children themselves identified five key areas important for their survival and daily life in the city. Each of these aspects of social life, namely: working, eating, washing/bathing, sleeping and leisure, necessitate the zoning of the city for street children whereby niches are created for particular functional uses. These are based on necessary characteristics of the urban topography which are needed for each individual activity. The spaces 'hijacked' for each of these uses will be examined here and their temporality identified. However, there is a diversity of spaces used within each of these aspects of street life. Therefore the spatial niches identified by the children have been categorised for easier interpretation and discussion. After examining all aspects of street life both spatially and temporally, the chapter will conclude by developing a daily pattern of street life.

5.2 Distinguishing street child environments

Given the diverse nature of the street child population, and the concentration in this thesis on those located in the city centre, it was important to develop an understanding of street children

throughout Kampala for comparative purposes. Initial observations led to a realisation that those in the outskirts of the city were different from those in the city centre (see Box 5.1 and also Dube *et al.*, 1996). This highlights that the changing nature of the urban environment is important for the socio-spatial survival strategies employed by street children in different city localities.

Box 5.1: Differentiating street child environments

"....The kids here seemed different to those in the city centre, less abrasive and more easily approachable. They weren't violent and weren't openly taking fuel or drugs. At this time of night in the city centre they'd have been high even if they were working. They said they are usually picking rubbish and helping in the market. Maybe the more localised community of the suburbs helps with the survival of known children or maybe it's only children that are more exposed to the culture of street life through their time on the streets that move into the city centre...." (Research Diary, Sunday 22nd November, 1998)

Through discussions and a quiz undertaken with groups of street children both in the outskirts and city centre, it was made clear that the children themselves have their own understandings and definitions of street children. Groups throughout the city distinguished between part-timers who 'sleep at home in Kisenyi[26]' (group C) but come into town during the day or the evening for income generation, and full-timers who 'sleep out on the streets and verandas' (group A) and do not go home. Furthermore, the children illustrated that some full-timers were also 'hard core'. These children were mentioned as immersed in street subculture and were described as being wild and unruly: 'they don't give respect to anyone' (group C), 'they beat others' and 'they also take your money by force' (group B). The street child subculture was described as deviant non-conforming behaviour particular focused on criminal activity: 'they snatch' (group B), 'they break houses' (group C); and on drug use: 'they use fuel and marijuana' (group E), 'they use drugs like petrol, thinner and some take marijuana' (group H).

Such a subculture was discussed as belonging to full-timers, and although some part-timers involved themselves in these activities, they were essentially home-based children (Hecht, 1999). This distinction can be drawn out when comparing two references to market work. Group E, when describing full-timers, state that 'they chase cars that have *matooke*[27] and steal the *matooke*', while part-timers are said to 'come and guard the *matooke* in the market.' Even with respect to their appearance the children highlighted differences among themselves. Full-timers were referred to as shabby and dirty, which Beazley (1997) states is a reaction to their marginalisation in society, while part-timers, who are legitimate working children (Lucchini, 1996b) were described as smart. As one group states: 'those ones are trusted as they look smart' and 'they have good behaviour' (group D).

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[26] Kisenyi is the slum area to the south of the city.

Ennew (1996) observed differences among street children across societies based on cultural variations, however, even within the city, differences in behaviour and street child subculture were observed in this instance. Although the intention here is not to define street children in Kampala, as this has been noted in Chapter 2 to be an arbitrary debate, it is important to recognise that variations exist in street children's use of the urban environment as a whole. Children in the outskirts identified themselves as mostly part-time and did not believe they were hard core, a behavioural state illustrated as part of the city centre street child subculture. This distinction may be based on the greater anonymity provided by city centre environments, and the image of a child as out of place there (Valentine, 1996b). In the outskirts, however, the children are located close to the residential environment where people interact on a daily basis in their particular home localities, and a community spirit is developed. In such environments children are legitimised on the streets (Abu-Ghazzeh, 1998; Lucchini, 1996b). The city centre is likely to foster greater marginalisation and exclusion of children and therefore the development of street subculture. More opportunities are also available for stealing, obtaining and consuming drugs, while maintaining the freedom associated with independent living.

Moving on to examine the interaction of street children with the spatial environment, a large majority of them felt that many children stop in the outskirts first and work in the markets. Once they get drawn into street culture many make the move into the city centre to take advantage of the opportunities there. However, the quality of street life in the city centre, especially for full-timers (elaborated on in later chapters) results in few children leaving the centre for life in the outskirts (unless there is trouble[28]). The conclusion drawn from this is that as time on the streets increases, not only do children become more integrated into street subculture, but they also get drawn, spatially, closer to the city centre.

Figure 5.1 represents this graphically illustrating the influence the particular urban environmental niche has on the socio-spatial survival strategies of street children. The realm highlighted on the y-axis, shows that greater time spent on the streets is spatially proximate to the city centre with more full-time, hard core children being located there. The x-axis of the diagram displays a series of street child characteristics. This is fluid but the suggestion is that certain behaviours are associated more with the subculture developed by full-time street children and particularly those who describe themselves as hard core. The final dimension

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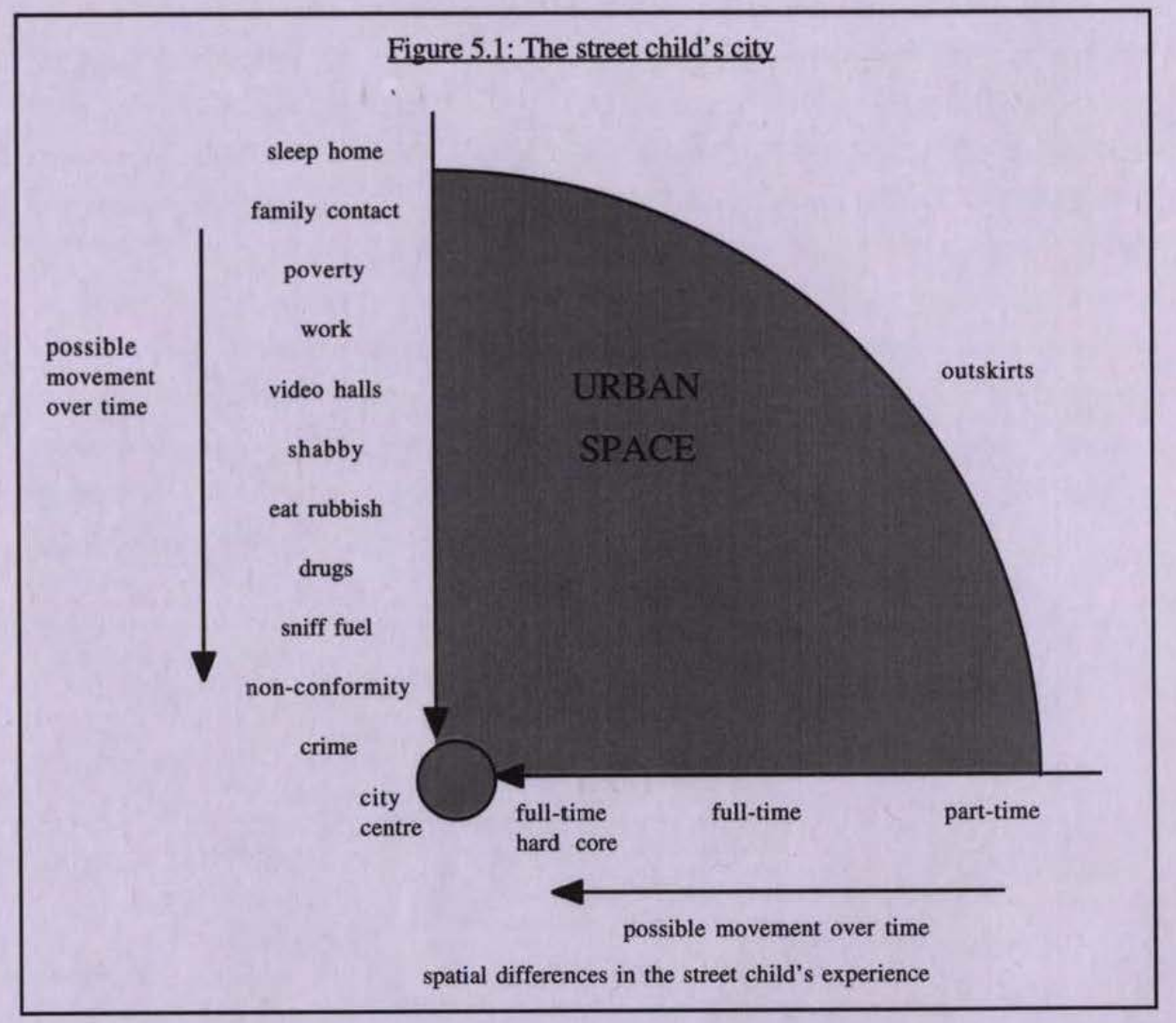
[27] *Matooke* is the local term for plaintains which form the staple food in Uganda.

[28] By this the children meant police round-ups (the removal of idlers before foreign diplomats visited) or *'panda gari'* (get on the truck - a measure used in Amin's regime to 'collect' unidentified people and imprison them - a similar operation was carried out by the present government during the fieldwork period).

incorporates spatiality into the diagram and illustrates the tendency for full-time and hard core street children to be located in the city centre.

Figure 5.1: The street child's city



From ascertaining that differences exist spatially among Kampala street children and that the greatest exclusion, and subsequent subculture of resistance, is likely to be among the city centre children, the remainder of this thesis will focus on their particular socio-spatial interactions. The ensuing sections in this chapter move on to examine the particular spatial interactions that the full-time city centre children have developed in Kampala as part of their survival strategies.

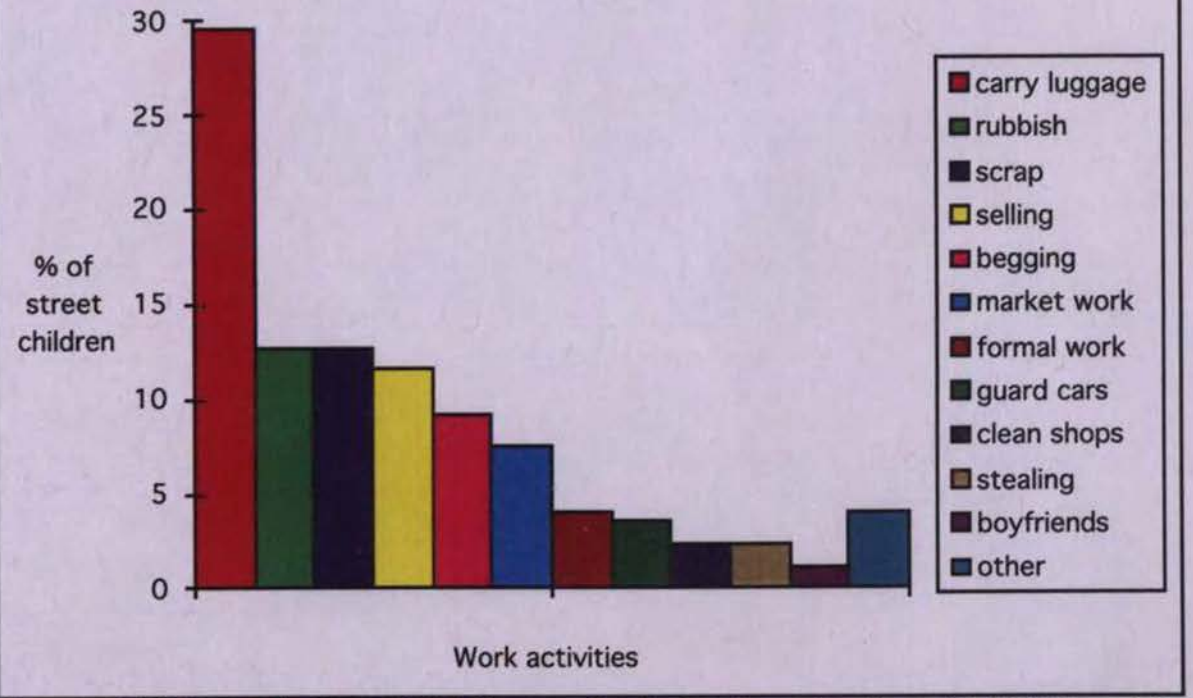
5.3 Street children's use of urban space

Following the order of work spaces, eating spaces, washing spaces, sleep spaces and leisure spaces, niches within the city are identified, classified and discussed in relation to the perpetuated existence of street children. This is achieved through the assimilation of data gathered from discussions, observations, maps, photo diaries and time lines undertaken in conjunction with street children, as discussed in Chapter 3.

5.3.1 Work spaces

Information collected in the 1999 Kampala Street Child Census shows the types of activities street children engage in for survival. Figure 5.2 illustrates that it is informal activities from which street children derive their income with 'carrying luggage' highlighted as the most popular type of work. Selling in the markets and streets, collecting rubbish, collecting scrap and begging also register as important survival mechanisms. In-depth child-centred research confirmed these results although stealing was rated as a much more frequent method of income generation than the census suggests. Furthermore, obtaining money from boyfriends only constituted a small percentage of the methods for obtaining money because this is specific to the female street child population which made up only a very small percentage of the total number of children on the streets. For this reason boys will be considered first prior to examining the differences in socio-spatial interactions by gender.

Figure 5.2: Percentage of city centre street children engaged in work activities (N=173)



(Source: 1999 Kampala Street Child Census, the Author in conjunction with FOCA and the NGO Network)

Twenty-three spaces were selected for discussion as useful niches for obtaining money or carrying out work-based survival strategies between six groups of boys. Figure 5.3 highlights these areas and differentiates between major and minor work spaces. A major work space is

identified as one which was selected for discussion by more than two groups and minor work spaces were those chosen by one or two groups only. The major areas displayed are the main market areas, Owino and Nakasero; and crowded areas, the Miniprice Junction at the Old Taxi Park, the Clocktower Junction and Kisenyi slum area. Minor work spaces consisted of smaller market areas, moderately busy streets and out of town trading centres.

The fragments of the cityscape identified as work niches can be categorised into four types of space defined by their main functions and their relationship to street children. They are: market areas; outlying areas (those areas located outside the city centre); main streets; and peripheral areas (marginal places within the city centre). Each of these categories will be considered.

market areas

The markets are busy areas where many people congregate to buy and sell goods. Many of the stalls are regulated but informal sellers operate around the outskirts, particularly in the early morning and evening when the tax collectors are not on duty. The frantic nature of market life results in numerous opportunities for children to engage in informal work activities. Many community children therefore help their parents or relatives by washing plates, selling and other petty trading activities. Given this, markets also provide numerous opportunities for street children to undertake small tasks as highlighted in Box 5.2. Through discussion, the main types of activities undertaken in the markets were identified as: off-loading cassava and *matooke* from trucks; selling items either stolen or collected as they fall from the morning delivery trucks (see Figure 5.4); and working for other market vendors selling their goods.

Around the small 'hotels'[29] in Owino and Nakasero markets, or at Katimba which mostly deals in food production, many children collect rubbish and mop floors opportunistically. They do this when they are hungry, as they are often successful in acquiring piece work. Another important activity in markets is 'carrying luggages'[30] for customers as they do their shopping. The majority of these activities are favoured by the children as they can be undertaken on a whim, when the need for money arises. They do not require capital and often children develop relationships with particular stall holders and customers. Furthermore, throughout the day children often scour Kiseka Market, which sells hardware goods, searching for scrap metal, plastic bottles and empty tins to sell.

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[29] The term 'hotel' is used here in the local sense meaning informal stalls, usually located in markets, where food is prepared, cooked and sold.

[30] The term 'carrying luggages' is colloquially used for porterage duties undertaken by the children.

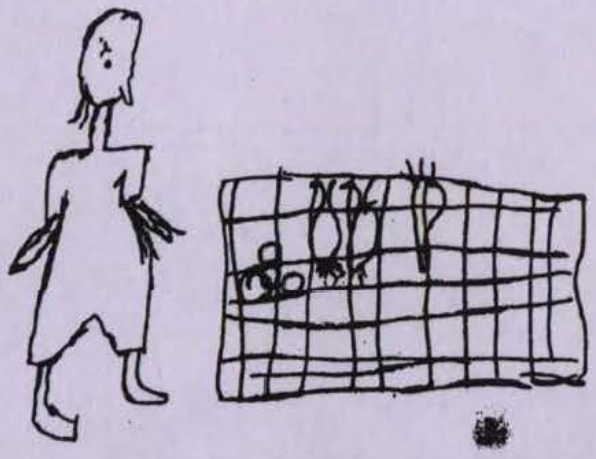
Box 5.2: Children's statements relating to working in markets

"We go and collect oranges and sell them to get money, plus Irish potatoes."
"Fee tuwenja emuchungwa nga ejo netutunda nefuna jani awamu no obumode." (FGD[31] 1)

"I grow fat like a bouncer and hit you then pick pocket you and just walk away."
"Nzija nga bouncer kikonde nenku kyako endegenenzimba nga bamba nentabula." (FGD 3)

"I go to Kiseka starting at 1.00pm up to 5.00pm."
"Ngenda Kiseka okutandika ne sawa musanvu kuminemu."
"Why do you go there at that time?"
"Lwaki oberayo sawa ezo?"
"Traffic is there to pay me[32]."
"Traffic weberawo yensasula." (FGD 3)

Figure 5.4: Selling onions in Owino Market



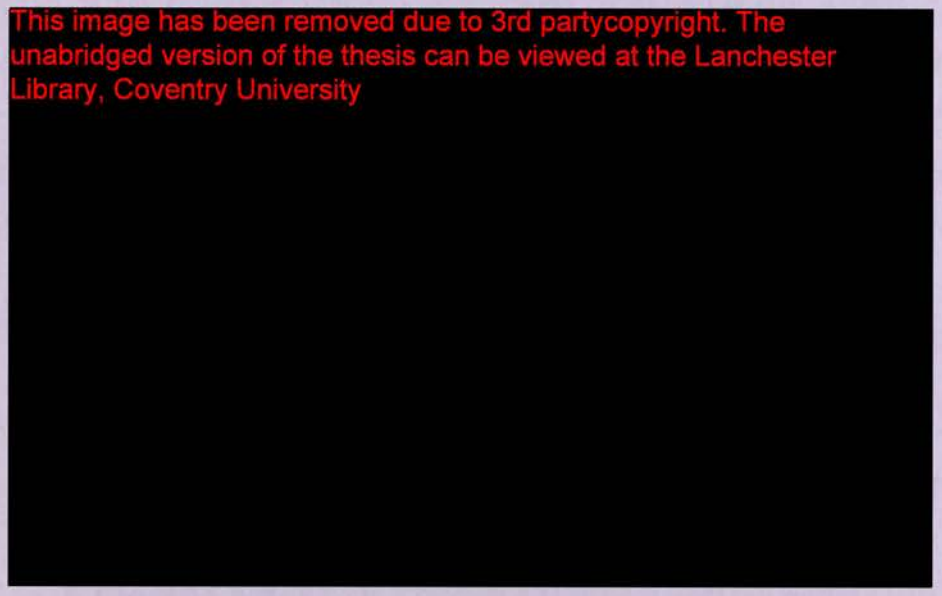
"This is me selling onions in Owino [market] that I picked very early in the morning when the trucks were off-loading." (D aged 13 years)

With regard to the age of the children, market work is both consistent and differentiated between the pre-adolescent and adolescent street child. The difference in physical strength results in different types of work being undertaken. Although both groups tend to sell in the markets, this is conducted in different ways. The younger children pick vegetables as they fall from trucks or snatch them from other stalls, whereas the older boys sometimes see market work as the beginning of a business venture and often take on the responsible role of purchasing produce and working in a more regulated manner. In this way then, the older sellers are likely to work in the mornings until they have finished selling their produce. The pre-adolescent children, being unregulated, tend to work just as the market opens and in the evening when the tax collectors are not around as their illegality in this type of work requires that they remain a hidden entity. As Plate 5.1 shows, all children carry luggage for people in an *ad hoc* manner in the mornings and evenings as this is when there are more opportunities. Off-

[31] FGD is the acronym used for Focus Group Discussion.

loading from trucks, however, is generally confined to the older boys as this is physically demanding labour. This is also early morning work as the task has to be completed before the markets open at 7.00am. Piece work at the 'hotels' is generally undertaken by younger children who are more likely to gain the sympathy of the hotelier and be given leftovers in return for a small task such as fetching water or taking rubbish to the skip. Such activities generally take place in the middle of the day after lunch has been served.

Plate 5.1: Off-loading at Nakasero Market



"We get up very early in the morning and move before dawn as we have to go to Nakasero to carry luggages for rich people and empty the trucks. This is me at Nakasero. I am resting while taking this picture because it is 7.00am and I have finished working. I came here to help off-load the trucks that come from the villages early in the morning. If you want a job you have to come early. Then I carry for the rich people who come to buy vegetables and take them to the hotels. I can make a lot of money here and they let me work here because they know me. In one morning I can get 2,500/= or 3,000/=[33] because it is the rich who come to buy here." (B aged 15)

As the middle quotation in Box 5.2 underlines, activities of theft, such as pick pocketing, snatching watches and bags, are often carried out in the markets due to the anonymity of the children amongst the crowds. This mainly takes place under the cover of darkness when the child can make an easy escape. Evenings at the markets are also very crowded as workers do their shopping on the way home and the regulators leave, allowing for more informal stalls to be set up, which ultimately results in reduced prices. Older children also go to Kiseka Market to steal the hub caps off parked cars that line the area or to sell those they have stolen from other places (final statement in Box 5.2). They feel the greatest opportunity to do this is in the afternoon hours as many cars are parked here at this time.

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[32] 'Traffic' is street vocabulary meaning that there are many cars from which to steal hub caps to sell.

[33] During the fieldwork period, the exchange rate was approximately 2,000/= [Ugandan shillings] to one pound sterling.

Markets are therefore diverse work spaces, offering different functions for street children at different times of the day and night. Early morning and evening work times appear to be particularly lucrative as the children can engage in both legal and illegal activities. Market work also appears to be age-selective in that older children undertake physically demanding work while younger children use their childish looks to gain sympathy from traders and customers.

outlying areas[34]

The outlying areas mentioned have been classed as minor work spaces within the city by street children as they are only used when there is no work collecting scrap in the city centre. The outlying areas are also utilised when a child needs to 'lie low' because of a crime they have committed or when anonymity is required to undertake theft activities[35] as highlighted by the first quotation in Box 5.3. The latter activity is conducted out of town because the children are less likely to be recognised and caught. Further, if goods are stolen from an outlying area it is unlikely that the original owner will be able to track down their possession if it is taken back into town for re-sale. Early morning and evening are perfect times for these activities because there is some cover of darkness and security personnel are either not around or not on full patrol duties. Market work, as described above, is rarely undertaken in such spaces because trusting relationships with the stall holders have not been formed.

Box 5.3: Comments relating to street children's work in outlying areas

"I go in the market on Wednesday when there is a crowd so I can touch in their pockets nicely."
"Ngendayo lwaku satu mukatale nga abantu lisibye nga bangi mba kwata yo bulungi." (FGD 3)

"Why don't you go to Ndeba and Kibuye?"
"Lwaki temugenda mu Ndeba ne Kibuye?"
"The reason is that it is very far like Jinja Road."
"Ekikulu wala nyo nga ku Jinja Road." (FGD 4)

"We can't go to Kalerwe because their is no *'marlie'*[36]."
"Kalerwe tetusobola ku gendayo kubanga nayo tewali marlie." (FGD 1)

"They beat us in Owino like in the morning they beat us and we go to Katwe and work."
"Owino bagenda nebatukuba netugenda eyo eKatwe netwegendera eKatwe netuwenja."(FGD 1)

The outlying areas tend to be used by adolescent children, reinforcing the fact that spatial negotiation increases with age (Matthews, 1992). The younger children often view these villages as out of reach and because of this feel there is no work for them there despite the fact

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[34] Outlying areas are villages located on the outskirts of the city which have their own trading centres.

[35] There are many different types of theft that are undertaken by street children. Stealing is generally used when discussing theft from property, snatching is used to describe pulling watches, jewellry and bags from members of the public and pick pocketing or 'soft touching' is the term that refers to removing money or valuable items from the pockets of passers-by.

that many of these trading centres also have large street child populations (see Box 5.3). The only exception is Katwe which is near to the city centre. Pre-adolescent children are more familiar with this space and occasionally go to Katwe Market to work if they are chased out of Owino. One child expresses trouble in the central markets, in the final quotation in Box 5.3, as his reason for going to Katwe to work. Outlying areas are therefore used on a temporal scale sporadically and on an infrequent basis due to access difficulties. However, such outlying spaces are considered important because of the opportunities they provide. Items collected or snatched can be sold to an already established clientele in Kisenyi or the city centre.

main streets

The street as a work space is highly important to the street child population in Kampala with many of their core work activities dependant on such places. The areas highlighted as regularly used streets were either located on Kampala Road, the main street running through the centre of town, or in the down-town area[37]. It is in this area that most of the streets illustrated as important work spaces, are located. The work opportunities that arise in these streets are diverse and can be differentiated by their functions and spatial layout. 'Fido Dido' and 'Post Office' work spaces provide opportunities for guarding cars as the parking spaces here are located next to cinemas and restaurants. The younger children undertake this lucrative business at night as this is the time most people fear their vehicles may get damaged or stolen. During the day at City Square, or at the traffic lights on Kampala Road and at the 'Miniprice' Junction[38], the same younger children exercise their employment diversity. Armed with rags they clean car windscreens in return for a small fee, as can be noted in Plate 5.2. The first quote in Box 5.4 illustrates that this opportunity is enhanced as the lights are frequently out of order.

Cleaning cars is a similar strategy to begging which is also carried out on the main streets. It is premised on the fact that people feel sympathetic to small 'helpless' children, in line with Appollonian views of childhood outlined in Chapter 2, and will give them alms without reciprocity. Such activities are not suited to adolescent boys who generally do not command such empathy. The second quote in Box 5.4 illustrates this point.

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36 *Marlie* is street vocabulary which means 'something you can sell to get money'.

37 The down-town area of Kampala is the southern part of the city and is host to the main commercial and transport sectors. The hospitality, financial and business sectors are located in the northern part of the city located up-hill from Kampala Road. The division of the city into two areas has been done from a street child perspective whereby opportunities are more easily created down-town given that this area is more crowded and there is less security.

38 This is the major junction at Ben Kiwanuka Street and Luwum Street which is constantly busy as it serves the traffic from the Old Taxi Park. It is colloquially know as the Miniprice Junction because the Bata Miniprice shoe shop is located here and many of the children from the Miniprice depot work at these lights.

Plate 5.2: Begging at *kubitala*[39] on Kampala Road

"I took this picture because I wanted to show what we do to get money. This is D begging for money at the traffic lights [Kampala Road]. Sometimes when we clean the car windscreens the rich people give us money or soap. We come here or we go to Miniprice when there are a lot of cars like now in the afternoon when everyone is coming from work. I am very happy because we can get a lot of money when we do this like 1000/=." (H aged 11 years)

Box 5.4: Comments relating to street children's street-based work

" For me the reason why I clean cars there is because the lights don't work."
"Nze ekisi muzayo emotorcar ebitala bibabifunde."(FGD 7)

"People who are just walking, you can sit there and beg and they give you money."
"Abantu ababtambula oyinza okutula awo no'saba nebakwa sente." (FGD 1)

"You can be seated there and someone comes and says "give me a hand here" then you give him a hand and get money."
"Waliwo okubera awonga newabawo omutitu nagamba ntinkwatirako nokwata nakuwa sente." (FGD 4)

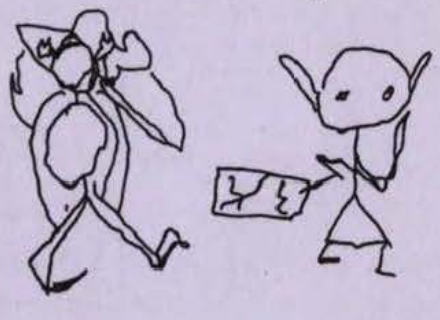
"What time do you stay at Miniprice?"
"Ebisera ki bwobera ku Miniprice?"
"At 6.00pm in the evening. That's when people walk coming from work having some money."
"Kuminabiri ezolwegu. Abantu lwebaba batambula baba okula nga bayina ku sente." (FGD 3)

At night, however, adolescent boys do venture onto the main streets in search of illegal opportunities where they can remove hub caps and steal from cars when the owners have gone for a meal, to the cinema or out for a drink. This highlights Cresswell's (1996) notion of darkness being a good cover for transgression and further illustrates the temporality of the street space as younger children tend to dominate during the day but at night these areas are encroached upon by older children. Further down-town, moving into the moderate shopping streets where informal street sellers are common, the older boys take on a greater role. At

39 *Kubitala* is the Luganda term for traffic lights.

Nakivubo Stadium, Ben Kiwanuka Street, Clocktower Junction and Luwum Street (Miniprice Junction) older boys often sweep shops early in the morning, hawk items for sale or snatch and pick pocket in the early evening. These areas are also used by all children to collect rubbish and carry luggage between the taxi parks for customers after work hours (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5: Carrying luggage: a street-based work activity



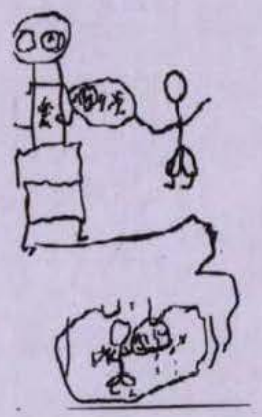
"This woman is paying me 200/= because I have carried luggage for her to the taxi park." (Y aged 12)

The Miniprice Junction on Luwum Street deserves special attention as a work space. Although located in the most crowded part of town and at the busiest junction, Miniprice is also a well established street child depot. During the day, as a work space it is also used as a pick-up point (highlighted in the third quote in Box 5.4), whereby members of the public or commercial community can collect children for work, such as carrying, off-loading, or rubbish collecting as is illustrated in Figure 5.6. In the early evening however, the space changes and takes on a dangerous image (final quote in Box 5.4). The sheer volume of children at this time, and its location next to the Old Taxi Park, make it a prime area for 'soft touching' and snatching as an easy escape can be made in the crowds and fading light (Figure 5.7). This is exemplified by 'H's' description and accompanying image of pick pocketing at Miniprice (Plate 5.3).

Figure 5.6: Collecting rubbish as a work activity

"I take rubbish to the dustbin and they pay me." (M aged 9)

Figure 5.7: Snatching on the street



"I have stolen a bag from this woman and then I have hidden with the bag in the skip." (L aged 10)

Plate 5.3: Pick pocketing at Miniprice

"The time was about 7.00pm in the evening. The boy wearing blue was going to snatch from the man he was standing next to. They snatch in the evening as the people who work there selling things have gone and they don't allow them during the day. It is these people who are normally seated there who chase them [street children]. So, when they leave they can snatch from there and at that time even more [street children] come to Miniprice[40]." (H. aged 12)

The street as a work niche changes over time. Early morning tasks, such as cleaning shop verandas; and day work, such as carrying and begging, are legitimate informal activities. This is also dependant on the age of the children as pre-adolescents gain more sympathy and are therefore more successful beggars, while older children have to engage in physical activity,

[40]Although H's photograph is distant and difficult to see his accompanying description elucidates Miniprice as a good spatial niche for pick pocketing.

whether legitimate or illegal, to secure their survival. There is an increase in opportunities for illegal work in the evenings and at night although begging at cars, during this time, also becomes popular as traffic congestion results in a captive audience. The changing nature of the street as a work space highlights its fluidity with deviant behaviours able to emerge and influence the environment. Here the physical and human environments interact to create a particular type of space at different times of the day and night.

peripheral spaces

On the edge of town, Equatoria depot, so named because it is located behind the Equatoria Hotel, is often frequented by older boys. They tend to undertake small tasks such as washing cars for those employed at the nearby hotels or city council offices. Kakuta[41], another depot, is well hidden within Kisenyi slum. Although the depot does not appear immediately conducive to economic activity, Kakuta's notoriety as a hang out for older street boys has resulted in many servicing the depot as a place for illegal trade such as selling stolen goods, or dealing drugs to other, often younger, children (Plate 5.4). Finally, Kisenyi slum itself is notable as a niche for economic activity. Although located off the main streets in the city, Kisenyi is still a crowded place with many workshops. As illustrated in Figure 5.8, it is an ideal location for collecting waste metal to sell to local scrap dealers. Children of all ages engage in this work during the day, although mostly in the morning hours before the sun gets too hot. Older children also use the area, in the same way they service Kakuta, by dealing in drugs and selling illegal goods (Box 5. 5).

Figure 5.8: Collecting scrap metal

"This is my friend R, he is looking for steel scrap in Kisenyi so that he can sell it to *Muzei* [old man] Eddie and get some money. He has a big sack of scrap that he is carrying on his head." (K aged 13)

41 Kakuta is the Luganda term for a 'waste heap of wood residues'. The depot has adpoted this name because it is located on the rubbish heap of the local carpentry workshops in Kisenyi.

Plate 5.4: Illegal trade: buying and selling fuel

"The children in this picture are buying fuel from the one in the white jacket. He sells fuel here because there are so many children at Kakuta and others will come here to get their fuel. It is a good place to sell fuel because it is hidden and police don't come here so we are not disturbed. This boy makes a lot of money selling fuel because many children want to buy it. It is like their booze and they want to get drunk...." (N aged 17)

Box 5.5: Working in peripheral spaces

"The way you know, that's where they always buy such things that we've got outside the town, a shirt or a watch. You can sell it in Kisenyi."
"Anti nga womanyi gyebagula ebintu nga ebyo byoba ofunyeeyo mumabbali nga esati oba esawa oyinza okijitundira mu Kisenyi." (FGD 3)

"I might go to Kisenyi and buy my fuel, while I'm taking it others come and I sell to them."
"Nyinzaokugenda mu Kisenyi negulayo obwenge bwange nyinza okuba nga mbunya abalala nebajja nembaguza." (FGD 6)

Working in the periphery of the city is opportunist and therefore conducted at irregular times of the day and night although again peaks can be noted both early in the morning, for collecting scrap; and in the evening, for selling fuel. Although many children buy fuel throughout the day, the greatest demand is in the evening as drugs are often taken to aid sleep. In general, peripheral spaces are conducive to illegal trading due to their hidden, marginal location on the urban landscape. For this reason it is the adolescent children who tend to engage in working in

the periphery as they are more likely to be arrested for illegal activities. The pre-adolescent children will also use peripheral spaces to purchase drugs.

This discussion has highlighted the diversity of street children's economic survival both in terms of the types of tasks they perform and the spaces they use. Re-visiting Figure 5.3 now allows the classification of major and minor work spaces to be analysed. Those areas highlighted as major work spaces, namely markets, Kisenyi, and the busy junctions of Miniprice and Clocktower, express the necessity of crowds for obtaining work and money. These spaces provide a variety of occupations and harbour much potential in terms of employers or people to beg from. It is the choice that is offered in such spaces that makes them important to many street children as their individuality in work preference can be adhered to. Minor spaces appear to have developed this status because they also provide opportunity to survive. However, they are more marginal in their ability to cater for the needs of a plethora of street children. They are either located further from the city centre or offer more limited choice in the types of activities that can be carried out. Therefore, work spaces seem to be frequented by street children based on the availability of customers and types of employment.

5.3.2 Eating spaces

Figure 5.9 illustrates that, as with work spaces, the street child community has sought out niches in the urban landscape specific for eating or finding food. Through discussion, 14 places were highlighted by the children as spaces useful for obtaining food with six of these mentioned by more than two groups. These major spaces were market areas, where small 'hotels' selling cheap food operate, and well established depots often centred around skips. Other areas included NGO centres where meals are sometimes provided free, mosques as often religious people will bring food for the poor, and skips located in more obscure areas for street child access but where specialist foods, such as chips, can be found. By comparing eating niches to the spaces selected for economic activities, the spatial emphasis can be noted to change. When eating, street children tend to move away from crowded places at busy times and locate in hidden, marginal places, centred around deviant eating habits such as eating leftover food from skips and 'hotels'. Therefore, the use of space diversifies and several niche types have been identified as important to the street child community. They are: markets, skips, peripheral areas, and other eating spaces which consist of outlying areas, NGO centres and streets. Each will be reviewed separately.

markets

Market spaces are used for eating as well as areas for income generation and sometimes these opportunities are linked, particularly for pre-adolescent children. As illustrated by the first two quotes in Box 5.6, the pre-adolescent boys often go to the markets searching for food, but without money, and end up pleading with the owner of the 'hotel' or engaging in work, such as emptying the rubbish, in return for food. Furthermore, many children frequent the same stall in the market and build up a relationship with the owner whereby they are often given leftovers after the customers have finished. This is important so that they are not chased out of the market and branded as thieves. Plate 5.5 shows how one boy has obtained food in the market but has taken it to a more secluded spot to eat to avoid having his lunch stolen by other street children. The younger ones manage to rely on sympathy to beg for food but adolescents are less able to obtain food in this way and are therefore more likely to use their money to buy food in market spaces. This is illustrated by the third quote in Box 5.6.

Box 5.6: Eating in market spaces

"I have taken her rubbish that's why she has given me food."
"Mbamutwalide amazi bisaniko nampa emere." (FGD 4)

"For me, in Owino I have my friend, when I have no money he gives me some food."
Nze, mw'Owino ninya mukwano gwange, bwembasiyina sente mere." (FGD 6)

"In Owino they don't help because if you don't have money they don't give you food."
"Mu Owino tebayamba kuba bwoba toyina sente tebakuwa mere." (FGD 2)

"Even if you have 100 [shillings] they give you food because some children get their money to eat and when they don't have money they are given leftovers."
"Nebwobera ne kikiumi bakuwa emere kubanga abaana abamu gyebajja esente ezo kulya nga tebayina sente nababawa ekkombo." (FGD 3)

"We eat in Owino because the food is cheap."
"Tulila mu Owino lwakuba emere eri ku beyi laysi." (FGD 6)

Markets are also used for stealing or gathering fallen produce which can then be taken back to the depot and cooked. This is done by making a fire from twigs and boiling the vegetables in a makeshift cooking pot, usually an old tin can. Such collections for food are usually undertaken in the morning when the trucks are off-loading. This is in contrast to those children who frequent the markets searching for leftovers as they tend to go in the afternoon, when the lunch-time crowds have subsided, and in the evening, just before the market closes (see the penultimate quote in Box 5.6). This is when stall holders are more likely to want to get rid of their produce. The final quote in Box 5.6 highlights that the market 'hotels' are not only frequented because there are opportunities to earn your supper, but also because the food is cheap and well prepared. The women who work there cook traditional food which is cheaper

than exotic dishes. This pattern of eating at markets in the early afternoon and evening hours was further supported by many of the children's time lines.

Plate 5.5: Eating market leftovers at City Square

"This is my friend Y eating at City Square. He is eating *matooke, posho*[42] and beans that he has got from a hotel in Nakasero. Our aunt who works there has given him the leftovers in a polythene bag because he begged her that she should give him her rubbish to put in the bin.... He has hidden with the bag in the bushes so that no-one sees him and steals his food." (H aged 12)

Markets are important niches within the city for obtaining food due to their flexibility. Opportunities for eating, however, change over time with purchased food being the most easily accessed. Leftovers are obtained only after the crowds have subsided, while food for cooking is found early in the morning when the trucks are off-loading and items invariably fall to the ground. The choice that markets offer street children in methods for obtaining food makes them important and highly utilised spaces for eating throughout the day.

skips

Rubbish skips are the second major place where street children eat. The way they are used as eating niches is selective and well co-ordinated based on closeness to major restaurants and time of day. As Figure 5.10 demonstrates, the appeal of such places is that the food is free. Moreover, because it has come from expensive hotels and restaurants it is new and exciting composed of chicken, chips and rice rather than the more traditional beans, *matooke* and *posho.* Food is brought to the City Square skip, throughout the day, where the pre-adolescent boys gather and eagerly await the Chinese delicacies from the Fang Fang Restaurant or chips, chicken and rice brought from the Imperial Hotel (see the first quote in Box 5.7). The food is barely able to touch the skip before a mass of squabbles ensue.

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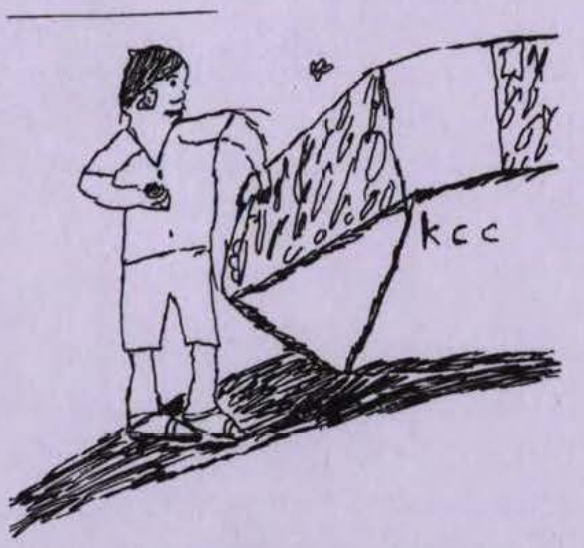
42 *Posho* is the local name for maize meal.

The Fido Dido skip and the KPC[43] skip are located on Kampala Road near to trendy fast food restaurants so chips are plentiful there. The Jambula and Miniprice skips, located at the respective depots, are also located near to eating establishments. Stall holders at the Old Taxi Park also deposit fruits and other foods at these locations because of their spatial proximity to the area. The remaining quotes in Box 5.7 illustrate that different types of foods can be obtained by visiting different skips in other locations.

Figure 5.10: A street child surviving by eating from the skip



"This is a street child at the City Square skip. He is picking food to eat because he has nowhere else to eat... He finds things to eat there that people have dropped like bread and chicken and chips. He is 12 and that day he walked alone..." (L aged 10)

Box 5.7: Eating from skips

"Men bring food in buckets and we pick and eat at 10.00am and at 1.00pm and at 6.00pm."
"Abasaja baleta emere mubibaketi netuja netulonda netulyako sawa nya oba ne sawa musanvu oba ne sawa kuminabiri." (FGD 4)

"At Fido Dido they pour leftovers and chips there [in the skip]."
"Ku Fido Dido bayiwayo ekombo ne chipusi." (FGD 7)

"At Miniprice they bring chicken [to the skip] and we eat."
"Ku Miniprice baletayo enkoko netuzilya." (FGD 7)

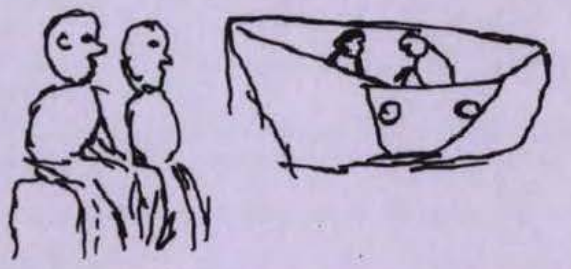
"For me, I go there and find jackfruit and some food too at the skip."
"Nze, gendayo nesangayo ffene nendya nensange ne mere kukasasiro." (FGD 7)

Older street boys tend not to forage in the rubbish searching for food. They earn more money and are more likely to use that to buy food or steal from other children. As they increase in age

[43] KPC is the acronym for Kampala Pentecostal Church. This skip is so named because it is located outside the church building.

they also develop a sense of pride and realise that it is shameful to eat from the rubbish. The adolescent boys would therefore only eat this food by forcing younger children to enter the skip and select food for them. They cannot be seen to engage in this activity in person (Figure 5.11).

Figure 5.11: It is shameful to eat in the skip



"The two children seated here have sent other younger children to look in the skip for food. They are older and are ashamed to go in the skip." (J aged 17)

Although eating from skips is a highly vagrant behaviour, for street children it is well regulated and controlled over both time and space. Not every skip in the city is used for foraging and those that are have been selected for their spatial proximity to places which serve refined foods. Eating is calculated in accordance with the times when leftovers are dumped from restaurants and hotels. The result, for the street children, is access to 'modern' urban foods not accessible to poor or rural populations. This is an attraction of city life whereby the foods they eat are exciting and different and similar to those they see in American films. In one sense it is escapism from the reality of life.

peripheral spaces

The city periphery is another space where eating niches are plentiful and three areas were mentioned as important. Jambula-Kisenyi is used at night for eating. This is an area where women from the local community cook inexpensive food (see the first quote in Box 5.8). Eating at Jambula-Kisenyi is appealing to many street children because it is cheap and often *en route* from the many nearby video halls to several street child depots and in close proximity to Kakuta as is highlighted in Plate 5.6. The adolescent boys particularly like to eat in Jambula-Kisenyi because when they are in the city centre at night they are sometimes fearful of being apprehended for failure to produce an identity card[44]. Furthermore, as the second statement in

44 In Uganda it is law that everyone carries their identity card and can prove they are paying tax. Inability to produce an identity card can lead to imprisonment. Cards, however, are issued through employers or schools and, as street children are not registered as either workers or students, they are not issued with identity cards.

Box 5.8 shows, the slums themselves are not readily patrolled at night and therefore children can roam freely.

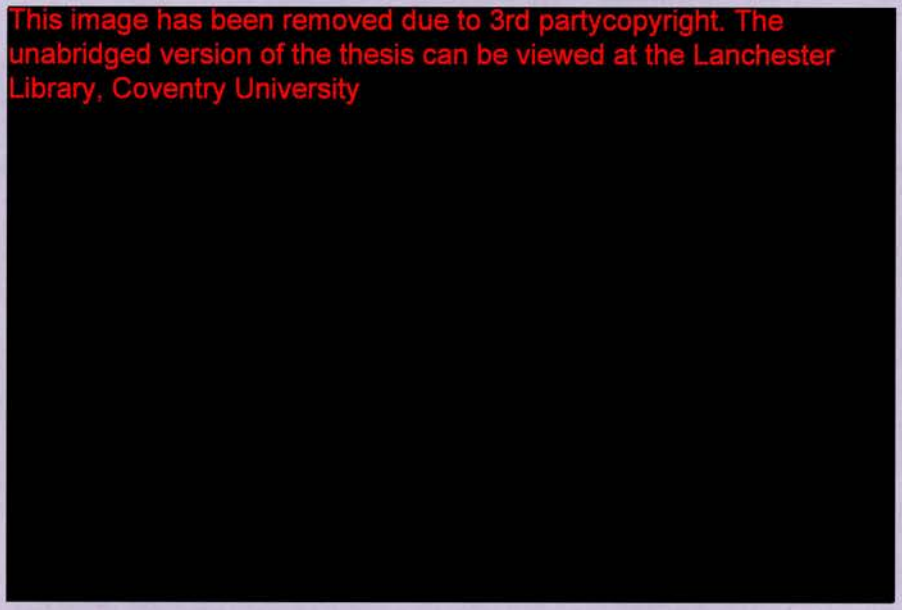
Box 5.8: Eating in the periphery

"I go there [Jambula-Kisenyi] in the evening, there is my auntie who gives me food at a cheap price."
"Ngendayo mukawungezi waliyo anti wange ampa emere ku sente ntono." (FGD 6)

"Why do you eat at Jambula [in Kisenyi]?"
"Kiebalisa mu Jambula?"
"There at Jambula [in Kisenyi] no one [meaning the police] disturbs me."
"Eyo mu Jambula eyo teri atusubwa."
"Because that's where they sell food at night starting at 7.00pm up to 10.00pm."
"Lwakua ekiro webatunda emere okutandika sawa emu okutuku sawa nya." (FGD 3)

"They go in Owino and pick *matooke* then they come where they work at the oil drums and they give them fire [for cooking]."
"Bagenda mu Owino bebalowda amatooke ne bajja webakolela amapipa nebabawa omulilo." (FGD 4)

Plate 5.6: Eating leftovers in Kisenyi

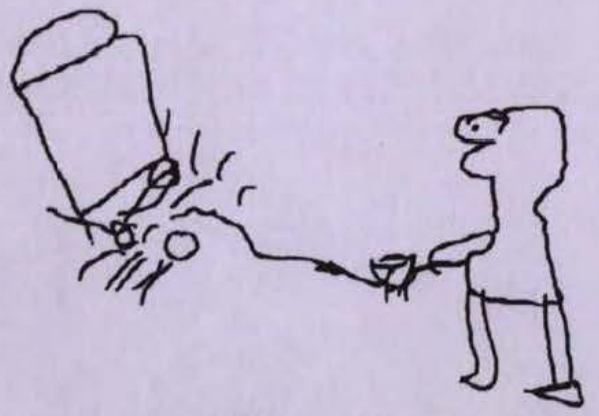


"Here we are eating our supper. There is a small hotel in Kisenyi where we collect rubbish and they give us the leftover food. K brought the food to the [oil] container where we sleep. We usually get a lot of food and eat *posho*, cassava, *matooke* and sweet potato. I took this picture because it was late and we had finished collecting rubbish. I remember it was evening because the Muslims were about to pray...." (A aged 12)

During the day the older boys also eat at Kakuta. This is their depot so they tend to cook here, as is demonstrated in Figure 5.12 and by the third quote in Box 5.8, or buy food from the women who work there supplying the workshops with lunch. In the morning they can collect food in Owino and bring it back to cook for free. Kakuta, being a waste heap is a suitable place for cooking as wood shavings and other combustible materials are readily available.

The periphery is important for cooking for those who live at Kakuta and those who have developed relationships with Kisenyi hoteliers. However, the main function of these peripheral spaces is in the evening hours when local women prepare cheap food for the community in which they live. The particular attraction of peripheral niches is their hidden and marginal location making them accessible only to those who frequent the area. Many children use the space because of the activities they undertake in Kisenyi and it is in close proximity to Kakuta.

Figure 5.12: Cooking at Kakuta



"This is a street kid called DM. He is cooking chicken that he has picked from Owino. He brought it to Kakuta and used some fire from the oil drums to cook." (G aged 15)

other eating spaces

More minor eating spaces consist of outlying areas, NGO centres, and main streets because of their restricted use at particular times or other inconvenience. Outlying areas tend not to be used for eating given the long travelling distance and the availability of cheap food in the city centre. However, sometimes when the adolescent boys have money they will eat lunch at Wandegeya Market if they have gone there searching for scrap metal. Katwe is used more frequently, particularly in the morning, if children have gone to stay in Cambodia the night before. Uncle Isa[45], helps them out when they are in trouble and gives them money so that they are able to have a breakfast of tea and bread.

NGO centres are used more frequently, despite restrictions on when food is available, especially as children often combine eating with other activities. The FOCA drop-in centre is used frequently as an eating place, usually after children have washed or attended literacy classes. The children are provided with porridge for lunch at around midday. This is every week day and therefore popular with the children who come for other activities (see Box 5.9

[45] Uncle Isa Katumba is a boxer and former street child who lives at Cambodia and feeds street children who come to him for help.

and Plate 5.7). The Tigers Club has a more regulated form of providing food based on the age of the children attending to play football. On their particular day the boys are provided with a free meal of beans, *posho*, rice and pineapple after which they go to play football and take part in a Bible class.

Box 5.9: Eating in minor spaces

"Because there is peace there, you can eat well when there is no one who has touched you and they give you medicine when you are sick."
"Kubanga wawali emirembe olya bulunga teri akukuteko nebaku wa ne dagala bwo nga oli muwadde." (FGD 3)

"When we come from the film we buy food at around 10.00pm."
"Bwetuva mu film sawa nya ngatude nda nga tugala emela yaffe ngatulya." (FGD 4)

Plate 5.7: Serving porridge at FOCA

"These are my friends taking porridge at FOCA. This is our aunt who cooks porridge for us with a very big wooden spoon. We have to queue and she serves us with porridge when we have finished washing. It is lunch time so I had to take this picture because they help us get lunch here." (G aged 15)

Finally, city streets, although essential spaces for gainful employment or theft, are not important places for eating. Only two main streets were mentioned as places where food is acquired by the children. Pre-adolescent boys and girls will often attend Nakasero Mosque on Friday afternoons because, when Juma prayers are over, money and food are handed out to beggars. However, this is not well utilised by street children because of the time and day restrictions. The only other site specifically mentioned was on Ben Kiwanuka Street colloquially known as *'Machere'* or 'Rice'[46]. Here the street sellers bring heated pots of rice and chicken which they sell to evening visitors in the city centre. The children purchase food there

46 *'Machere'* or its English translation 'Rice' is the colloquial name for this street child eating niche because the food sold there is a mixture of rice, meat and flavourings.

late at night, when people have begun to disperse and return home, because the food sellers at 'Rice' will reduce the price of the leftover food to only 200 shillings. One child illustrates this in the final quote in Box 5.9.

These minor spaces, although used by street children, are not regular spaces for eating. There are too many restrictions on a child's freedom to eat when and where he wishes. Therefore these spaces are used in a much more sporadic manner and less frequently than the other niches previously identified. This is particularly true with respect to outlying areas because of the travelling distance, particularly for the younger children. Furthermore, they are less likely to meet sympathisers in the outlying markets where they are unknown. Despite restrictions, many children take advantage of the free food on offer at NGO centres because they can combine eating with other activities. However, at the Tigers Club this is only once a week and at FOCA the porridge is not considered very substantial. With city streets, again the children are considered out of place, with respect to eating establishments. They can only eat here late at night when the price for food is reduced and therefore only accessible to those children who sleep at nearby depots and have developed friendships with the food sellers.

To conclude this section, it can be noted that spatially, eating is confined to niches where food is good, cheap and easily accessible. Obtaining daily sustenance appears to be a major activity for street children living on Kampala's streets as they tend to eat well two or three times a day. This finding is similar to that found by Panter-Brick *et al.* (1996) when working with Nepalese street children. The nature of the spaces used are, however, spatially selective based on price, type of food available, individual tastes and physical location, all of which dictate the place of this essential aspect of street living. The age of the street children further influences the types of spaces they use with older children being more selective.

Returning to Figure 5.9, it is now easy to see why certain spaces have been classed as major and minor eating establishments. The markets are highlighted as important spaces because of the large number of caterers existing in a confined location. This provides choice, in terms of what to eat and who to buy from. The greater selection allows many children to develop relationships with hoteliers without overloading one particular 'hotel' in search of cheap food. Furthermore, the crowded nature of markets creates opportunities to steal vegetables from stalls or pick them as they fall unnoticed. The depots hosting the major concentrations of children are also important spaces for eating both because of their proximity to food and the opportunities that exist there for cooking. The final spaces categorised as essential for eating are those skips located close to major restaurants. Again it is easy to determine why such spaces are popular for eating. First, they are in good proximity to modern catering establishments which allow the children to eat food otherwise inaccessible to them. Second, they are positioned at, or near, street child concentrations such as City Square or Miniprice. Third, the

food is dumped regularly, at times known to the children, thereby ensuring a constant supply of free meals.

With respect to minor spaces for eating, it can be noted that they appear to be isolated food centres limited in choice and availability of food. For example, the NGOs mentioned only provide food in conjunction with other services and often this is limited to special times or days. This is also the case for food given out in conjunction with religious practices. Other minor centres are single operators such as at 'Rice' or Jambula-Kisenyi where food is only available at special times. From this it can be noted that street children are influenced by the choice available, the type of food served, the cost of eating and proximity to sources of other activities in terms of their eating preferences.

5.3.3 Washing spaces

Spaces for washing within the city need to be particularly specialist given the necessity for privacy and the availability of water. This does not necessarily mean such activities are excluded from the main streets. Figure 5.13 demonstrates this highlighting 14 washing/bathing areas selected by the children, eight of which are considered as major sites located mostly in the city centre. They consisted of NGO centres where water and privacy are assured, well hidden streams, underground water tunnels and city centre depots. Minor washing areas were lakes, pools and streams on the outskirts and out-of-town.

Washing spaces differ inherently from both working and eating spaces due to the criteria they are based on. Some eating and most work spaces are located in busy areas where money and food are easily obtained. Generally, water and privacy are not found in such places and therefore washing niches are located in more private, peripheral spaces. Busy communal areas, such as markets and city streets, rarely feature as washing niches (unless, as will be shown, they are out of the public gaze). There are three categories of washing space considered here: peripheral spaces; NGOs; and other washing spaces which consist of streets and outlying areas.

peripheral spaces

Peripheral spaces are generally the most favoured spaces for washing as they are located on the outskirts of main streets and not in busy places. Jinja Road and the Golf Course share Kitante Channel and, although well hidden, are just a bit far out of town for regular use (see Figure 5.13). Moving into Kisenyi, however, washing facilities are extensive. Kakuta is useful for the private act of washing due to its secluded location. Furthermore, the depot is also close to

Nabagereka Primary School which has a well hidden from public view. The adolescent boys, in particular, wash here as it is close to their depot. The pre-adolescent boys only go here when they are in a hurry and cannot spend time at FOCA participating in meetings or educational classes or when there is no water at FOCA. Street children wash at Nabagereka in the morning after working in the markets or collecting scrap. At this time the school is in progress so they are not disturbed by the students. They also wash in the afternoon, out of school hours, before heading into town for snatching or going to the video halls. The boys who wash here, however, have to buy their own soap as they are older and less likely to be given handouts by sympathisers. This is similar to Nakivubo Settlement which is slightly nearer town, located on Nakivubo Channel. Again, this washing niche is situated next to a primary school, and often the teachers help the smaller boys by giving them soap, an incentive for them to keep returning to the area. In contrast, the older boys use Nakivubo for washing because it is well hidden by banana trees and bushes which not only provide privacy but hides them from the watchful eye of law enforcement officers (see Box 5.10).

Peripheral spaces are well used by street children because they are located away from the busiest parts of the city and are therefore more secluded in nature. This provides privacy for street children to conduct a private activity in a public environment, without being disturbed. This, however, subjects them to washing in streams where the water quality is not always very good, although there is always a constant supply. Closeness to sympathisers, mostly teachers from the nearby schools, ensures a free supply of soap, particularly for the pre-adolescent children who are able to gain sympathy because of their young looks. The main advantage of washing in peripheral spaces must be the secluded environment they provide as this allows children, out of place in the city, to undertake an out of place activity away from the disapproving public gaze.

Box 5.10: Comments relating to washing in peripheral spaces

"The reason why we wash from there [Nakivubo Settlement] is that you might go there when you have no soap, then someone comes and gives out soap and then you wash."
"Chetuwa twoleza wo oyinza okugenda wo ngo oyina sabuni olinajja nga aze okwoza na kulewo sabuni gwo'sobola okwezesa." (FGD 1)

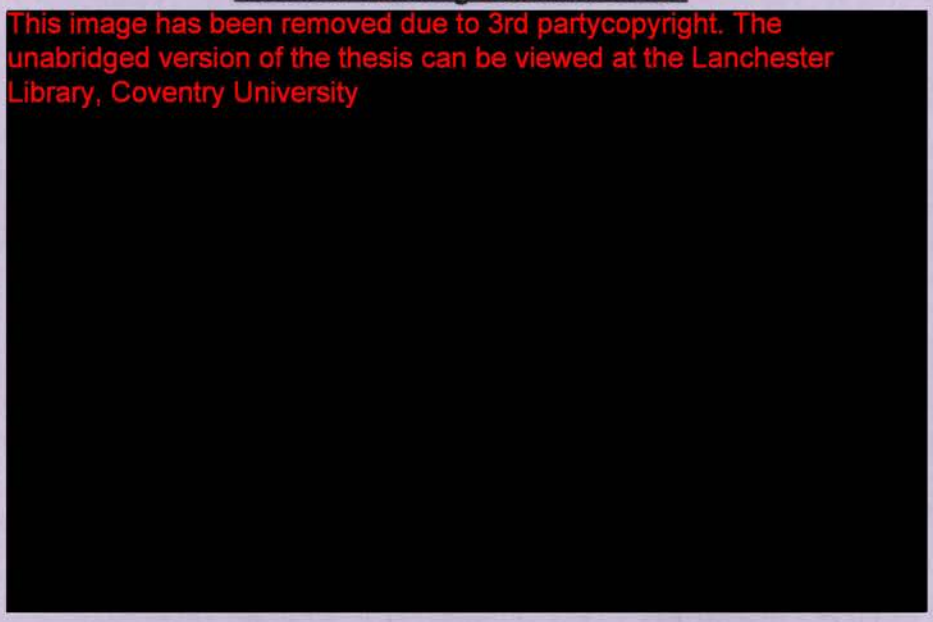
"Because its a hidden place and there are banana trees so if you take off your clothes no one sees you."
"Kuban kifo kyekwese walimu ebitoke nebwoba weyambudde osobola okeziyiza nonabirawo." (FGD 2)

washing facilities at NGOs

NGOs are used on a regular basis by street children for washing and bathing because they provided seclusion and free soap and water. This is illustrated by Plate 5.8 which also

demonstrates that FOCA is frequented in the morning hours after work. Children often combine washing with other activities. The first two quotes in Box 5.11 show that sometimes they participate in playing, learning music, studying and eating porridge while their clothes are drying. The Tigers Clubhouse is frequented most for washing on days when lunch and football are also provided (see the third quote in Box 5.11). This means that adolescent and pre-adolescent boys wash on different days at this particular locality. Moreover, as lunch is provided at 1.00pm those who have come to do their laundry tend to arrive at around 10.00am or 11.00am and wash before eating.

Plate 5.8: Washing clothes at FOCA



"These are all friends of mine washing their clothes at FOCA. N has just come from town where he has been carrying luggages early in the morning. Now he is finished it is time to wash so he has come to FOCA because they give you water and soap and the police can't arrest you here.... A is holding up his fuel bottle to see how much fuel he has left...." (G aged 15)

Box 5.11: Comments relating to washing at NGO centres

"The reason why we wash there [FOCA] is because when we finish washing you play until the clothes get dry. Another thing there are so many games like beating drums and others."
"Chetuva twolezayo kubanga bwomala okwoza ozanya mpa engoyezo lwezikala no genda no weja. Echilala waliwo emizanyo minngi ngo okukuba engoma bwona webiri."(FGD 1)

"The reason why I go to wash at FOCA is, if I don't have money I wash there because there is porridge."
"Ekintwala okunabira ku FOCA no kwoza sente zisobola oba nga za mbuza ate ku FOCA bafumbirayo obujji." (FGD 3)

"The reason why we go there [Tigers Club] is they give us a basin, soap and when you finish you go to the football and they give you food and drink and they give you education."
"Chetuva twolezayo bakuwa ebafu sabuni bwomula nemugenda kumupira emere babawa ebyokunywa babawa nokusoma nemusoma." (FGD 7)

These examples highlight that NGOs provide important spaces for washing and bathing. Their seclusion and exclusively street child niche creates a relaxed atmosphere in which the children can conduct private activities and have access to clean water, soap and basins. It is not only these washing incentives that attract the children to such places but because they can combine washing with other activities. For this reason they are attracted at specific times to engage in washing and bathing.

other washing spaces

So far, this discussion on washing niches has highlighted the need for privacy in order to direct attention away from washing and bathing in the urban environment, an out of place activity conducted by an out of place population. Therefore those spaces which are less attractive for washing are those which are located in busy, crowded places within the city. It is not surprising then that street-based washing niches are not well favoured. Despite this, some children bathe at the Clocktower Junction when they have been collected by 'Uncle Kyeune'[47] to play football as he provides them with soap and water. This, however, is on a sporadic basis and related to the 'befriending' aspect of his organisation (Mr. Geoffrey Kyeune, RYDA, Interview, 1998). Furthermore, the out of placeness of this activity is legitimised by the presence of the NGO worker and the children are provided with free soap as an incentive to wash. In contrast the adolescent boys are not legitimised and therefore do not tend to wash at the Clocktower Junction unless they are travelling back from collecting scrap in Ndeeba. The area is not favoured, despite the availability of water, because it is often crowded.

Another outlet with water flowing freely is where Nakivubo Channel flows between the New Taxi Park and Kiseka Market. This niche is occasionally used for washing by the adolescent boys if they are too tired to go into the city periphery, particularly if they need to come back into the city centre later. The first quote in Box 5.12 illustrates this. It is not, however, highly rated as a washing niche because of the crowds that use the New Taxi Park and the market.

Despite this, there are three major areas on Figure 5.13 that are street-based washing spaces. Miniprice is used for washing because there is water and, as noted in Box 5.12, often passers-by and taxi drivers will feel sympathetic towards the pre-adolescent boys and give them soap[48]. Furthermore, the children can remove themselves from the public gaze by going onto the Miniprice rooftop to wash. The second unusual washing niche highlighted is City Square. This is regularly used by the younger boys because there is a tap, it is near to their depot and

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47 Uncle Kyeune is the director of Rubaga Youth Development Association (RYDA) which works with full and part-time street children and is located in Rubaga division. This particular washing space has been included here as it occurs on the street outside the domain of the NGO centre.

48 This soap is offered as a free gift from many petrol stations serving the city.

begging for soap is easy as there is a taxi rank there. However, it is only the pre-adolescent street boys who tend to use these spaces for washing because they are partly legitimised by their 'angelic' appearance (Valentine, 1996a, 1996b; see also the second quote in Box 5.12). In contrast, for adolescent boys to wash in such a public place would not be ignored and considered a much more deviant behaviour. Therefore, the older boys who frequent the square do not wash but, in a paternalistic manner, beat the little ones if they do not bathe regularly (illustrated by the final quote in Box 5.12).

Box 5.12: Comments relating to street-based washing and bathing

"I bath at Kiseka because when I'm coming from work I am so tired and I have to bathe first."
"Kyenva nabira ewa Kiseka mberawo kukola nga nkoge nga mpitilawa Kiseka newuka okunaba nengenda." (FGD 6)

"Why do you wash at Miniprice?"
"Lwaki mwoleza ku Miniprice?"
"There are so many rich people there and when I'm washing they call me young[49] and give me soap."
"Waberawo abagaga bangi bwemba njoza nga bampita toto kwata sabuni."(FGD 7)

"The taxi people help us because they give us soap and small jobs."
"Abataxi bebatuyamba kuba batwa sabuni no'bulimu obwekukola." (FGD 1)

"Grand Sheena gives us soap and we get smart so that the *bayaaye* don't beat us because we are dirty."
"Grand Sheena atwa sabuni netaenjoko bulungi abayaaye banaffe bebatatukuba mba tudugala."
"Why does Grand Sheena help you?"
"Lwaki jaja Sheena abayamba?"
"Because we fetch water for her to wash her babies' clothes."
"Lwakuba tumukimira amazi nayoza obugaye bwo mwana." (FGD 7)

The underground water tunnels at Entebbe Road, colloquially known as Beirut, are also considered a good place to bathe. Here it is possible to wash out of the public gaze and, while the children wait for their clothes to dry, the younger ones often play at 'riding Beirut' by sliding through the tunnels. This combination of play and washing activities is important for the pre-adolescent boys, who enjoy the thrill of sliding through the tunnels, as it reduces the boredom of routine cleanliness. The adolescent boys, however, also wash at Beirut. They are less interested in playing and therefore wash at one of the tunnel openings located off to the side of the road. This is much more accessible for washing, while still well hidden from public view because of the steep slope and bushes located there. Spatial separation by age is highly visible here, particularly as the adolescent boys do not allow the younger ones to wash at the tunnel opening, chasing them away when they become disruptive.

[49] Meaning that they sympathise with him because he is of a young age and surviving on the street without parental support.

A further locality type which is occasionally used for washing, is the outlying spatial niche. However these spaces are generally not favoured for washing purposes and are only used if there is trouble in town or if a child needs to hide from the police after having committed a crime (Box 5.13). Box 5.13 illustrates that other outlying spaces such as Lake Kyanja, are favoured more, but only on Sundays, when there is little work and the children have time to go there to swim. They use the lake for washing and then, while their clothes dry in the midday sun, they can swim and cool off. The distance, however, makes this unprofitable at other times as they prefer to stay in the city centre and engage in income generation opportunities as they arise. Finally, Katwe is used more frequently because it is much closer to the city centre and 'Uncle Isa' provides soap and water for those who stay at Cambodia. Again the morning is a favourable time before the boys make their way into town and the place is well hidden and providing privacy and refuge (see the final statement in Box 5.13).

Box 5.13: Comments relating to washing and bathing in outlying spaces

"The reason why we wash in Katwe Nsambya is because the police has chased us in town."
"Ekituletela okwoleza Katwe Nsambya kubanga police ebayatu gobyeyo."(FGD 3)

"We wash at Kyanja because when we finish washing you swim or you sleep at the side and your clothes dry and you leave."
"Twolezaku Kyanja kubanga bwomala okwoa nowuga oba newebakako ebbali engoyezo nezikala nognda." (FGD 2)

"For me when I go to Kyanja I go to wash and catch fish."
"Nze Kyanja okugendayo mbera ngenze kunaba nakukwata byenyanja." (FGD 3)

"We wash to be smart and Katwe is a good place because the police can't find it [Cambodia]."
"Tiba twagala okwoza tanyirire era eKatwe walungi kubanga apolice tebasobola kumanyayo." (FGD 2)

These minor areas for washing and bathing are not well utilised due to the lack of privacy city streets provide and the long distances and time consuming travel to outlying areas. In the latter case, the benefits were not considered enough to off-set the cost of travelling out of the city centre. However, the resourcefulness of street children has resulted in some spaces being sought out and developed as washing places. Those highlighted here as useful niches are those where the children were able to gain easy access to water, namely underground tunnels and streams, access to soap, particularly near to taxi stands, and where there was at least some privacy. This highlights the careful selection of street child niches calculated upon a range of factors appropriate to the activity engaged in.

In conclusion, washing spaces have been demonstrated to rely on both physical and social aspects of the urban environment. Access to water sources is particularly important as are areas which are not well populated. For younger children washing in spaces near to where free soap can be obtained is an added advantage. Based on this, it appears to be the peripheral niches and

other well hidden areas that are utilised most as washing and bathing places due to their private location within the public space. The most favoured time for washing and bathing is mid-morning after work. This is a good time to wash because the warm sun dries clothes quickly. Spaces where other activities can be combined with washing are also favoured because this helps to pass the time as the children wait for their clothes to dry. NGOs have particular importance as they are exclusively street child spaces where the children can relax. Adolescent boys are more likely to wash than pre-adolescent boys and will even bathe again in the late afternoon before going into town to meet friends or watch a video. Personal hygiene is more of a concern to the adolescent street boys and sometimes the pre-adolescent children 'forget' to wash. At City Square this has resulted in some of the older children 'looking out' for the younger ones by teaching them the importance of cleanliness.

5.3.4 Sleep spaces

The sleeping niche, colloquially known as 'the depot', is the basic living space of the Kampala street child. Through discussions, 18 depots were highlighted with 11 of these mentioned by more than two groups (Figure 5.14). These core depots are located mostly on city centre streets although the adolescent boys also tend to locate in peripheral spaces. The minor depots are less rigid niches, changing frequently, and often only used on a temporary basis by smaller groups of children or when there is trouble in town. Depots located in streets and peripheral areas will be reviewed first before looking at outlying areas and markets.

street depots

Main streets appear to be important niches for sleeping although often such spaces are only part-time as they take on commercial functions during the day. Kampala Road, in particular, has a number of sleep spaces along it and down-town there are numerous sites located at Ben Kiwanuka Street, Nakasero Mosque, Channel Street, Nakivubo Street and Miniprice, the most infamous street child depot in Kampala.

On Kampala Road, Fido Dido is used as a depot for pre-adolescent boys as there is a business man who helps them by allowing them to sleep at his shop. Furthermore, this is a perfect area for working late at night guarding cars for cinema-goers thereby making Fido Dido a good place to sleep. Further along Kampala Road children have been known to sleep at the Post Office and outside the Radio One offices, where there is a piece of waste ground used as a 'special hire' taxi rank[50]. Again it is younger boys who tend to congregate in these areas. They

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[50] Taxis are cheap minibus-style transport while 'special hire' taxis are more expensive private cars.

are more open to the public gaze and often patrolled by security guards or law enforcement officers. As part-time depots, they are not well established and often only come into use temporally when children are harassing each other at Miniprice. City Square is an unusual depot in that it is used mainly during the day as a place of rest because it is a grassed area where children have the freedom to relax.

The Diamond Trust depot is also located just off Kampala Road in the upmarket sector of town. It is adolescent boys who tend to use this area which centres around a skip. They do so tentatively, and only late at night, for fear of being arrested at other times when the police are still patrolling town. Sleeping here allows the boys to work early in the market and is used instead of travelling back to Katwe or Kakuta late at night. As noted by the first two quotes in Box 5.14, the harsh treatment received by the children who sleep here means that it is only used occasionally. The law enforcement officers engage in 'cleansing' the up-town streets, the wealthy part of town where the banks are located, by removing street children. In the down town area they are tolerated more because of the difference in place functions being more transport orientated and supporting more informal sellers on the streets. Although these streets, such as Nakivubo Road, Channel Street, Nakasero Mosque and Miniprice, are busy during the day, at night the verandas and trucks parked along the roadside are used by street children for shelter when it rains (for examples see Figure 5.15 and quotes three and four in Box 5.14).

Box 5.14: Sleeping on Kampala's streets

"We don't have anywhere to be and that's the easiest place so that in the morning we go to work. Diamond Trust is near to the banks so the police disturb us a lot."
"Tetuyina wakubera ate wakwanguira kumakya nogenda owenja. Diamond Trust eriraya bank nyingi era apolice batusumbuwa." (FGD 3)

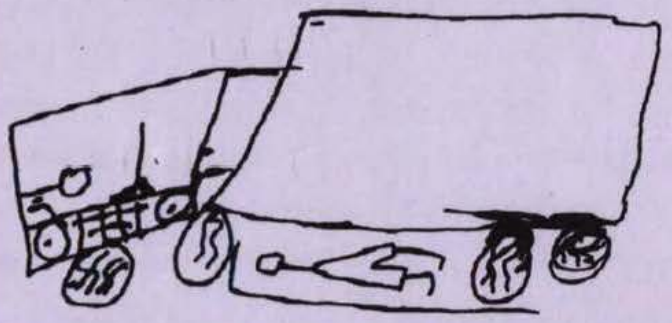
"They call us thieves and think we have come to steal from people."
"Batuyita babbi balowoza tuze kubba bantu." (FGD 6)

"I sleep at bus park [Nakivubo] and early in the morning I take passengers to the bus."
"Ekinsiza kubus park nekere nfune abasabaze mbatwale ku bus." (FGD 6)

"When it rains it doesn't rain on us because its a very good veranda [at Channel Street]."
"Enkuba eyinza okulonya natatukuba anti olubalaza lungi."
"When do you sleep there?"
"Biseraki byemusulayo?"
"....at 12.00 because the things to sell are finished [the street is quiet as the traders have gone]."
"....sawa mukaga kubanga emali yange lweba eweddewo." (FGD 1)

"For me I sleep at Miniprice at 9.00pm because very early in the morning I must wash and I must clean the taxi park and go and collect rubbish an then go and have breakfast."
"Nze ku Miniprice nebakawo sawa satu kubaga obudde bwebu kya negenda nenjoza park nengenda nennonda ebisaniko nengenda nendya ekyenkya." (FGD 2)

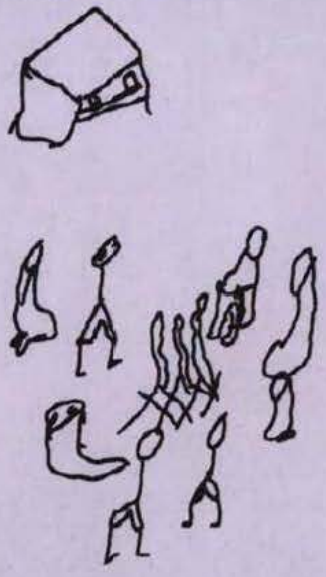
Figure 5.15: Ingenious ideas for sleeping



"This is me sleeping under a lorry because it is raining and I don't want to get wet." (D aged 13)

The one exception to this notion that the depots located on main streets are vacated during the day is Miniprice which is constantly in use by large numbers of street children at all times. Miniprice is positioned around the skips on Luwum Street, an already unattractive area which the majority of public users avoid, and on the Old Taxi Park rooftop, an inaccessible place positioned above the street. This provides the street children at Miniprice with an unchallenged authority over the depot which can therefore be used for sleep both at night and during the day, as shown in Plate 5.9. The complexity of this particular niche makes it highly desirable and useful for a plethora of activities (see the final quote in Box 5.14). The skips themselves can be used to aid the children to get through the night as they contain a myriad of waste materials useful for making fires around the skips or simply by setting alight the rubbish in the skip itself in order to keep warm. Figure 5.16 demonstrates this well.

Figure 5.16: Keeping warm on the streets at night



"This is the skip. We sleep around the skip. The children are sitting around the fire they have made at Miniprice to keep warm because it is very cold. Some of them I don't know but W is there and NS and M and also me. These are my friends." (P aged 9)

Street-based depots are highly utilised by the city centre street child, particularly because they are close to opportunities for work and nearby shop verandas provide shelter from adverse weather conditions. Other than the exception of Miniprice, most of these depots are temporary in that the children who sleep there have to vacate them during the day. Furthermore the visibility of such places means that they are likely to change frequently. However, this can also work to the advantage of street children as it is more difficult for other street users to antagonise or abuse the children while they are in a vulnerable position, asleep. Miniprice, however, has become more established and is the only street-based depot that is multi-functional in terms of its uses, making it an ideal street child niche. Pre-adolescent street children are more likely to use street-based depots, although not exclusively, because they are less likely to receive retribution because of their legal status in Ugandan society as minors.

Plate 5.9: Resting during the day at the Miniprice skip

"These are my friends sleeping at the Miniprice skip. Sometimes they sleep there during the day because we were disturbed at night by the police or when it rains we wake up and have to find some shelter. Miniprice is a good place to sleep during the day because no one disturbs you there.... We sleep beside the skip because it is hot and we get shade from the sun." (M aged 9)

peripheral depots

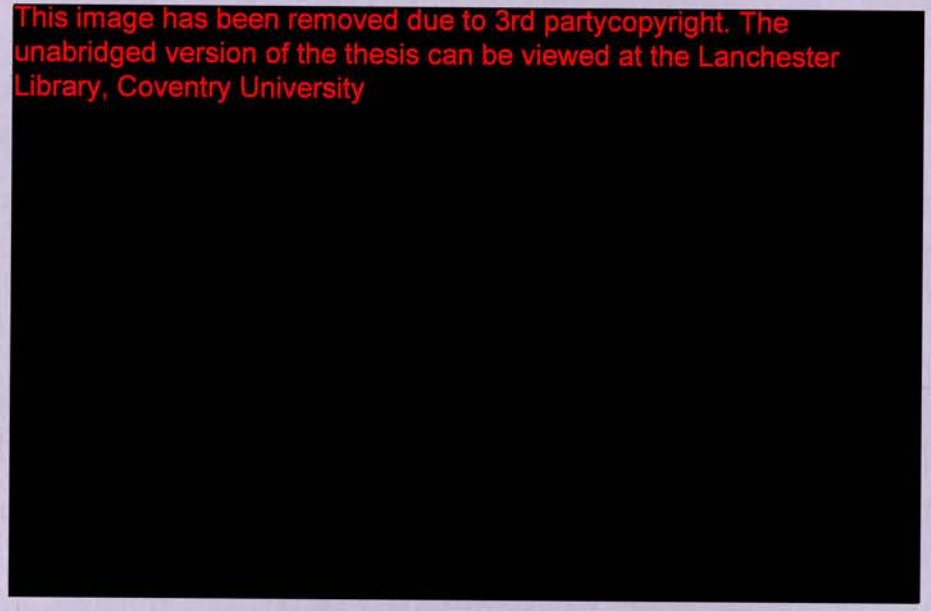
Many well established depots, namely Ternan Avenue (Sheraton), Equatoria, Jambula, and Kakuta, are located within the city's peripheral spaces. These are particularly useful street child sleep places because their marginal and 'hidden' nature minimises antagonism between the children and the local community, as illustrated in Box 5.15. This means that it is easier for the children to engage in illegal activities, particularly drug use, which intensifies at night prior to sleep. This is because it reduces bad thoughts, blocks out the cold and is enjoyed by the children (Campos *et al.*, 1994; Hecht, 1999; Lowry, 1995; Schaefer, 1989). This is

exemplified by Figure 5.17 and Plate 5.10 which illustrate street children in preparation for sleep. Being hidden from the public gaze is most important for the adolescent street boys as they are less protected within The Children Statute where the age of accountability is 12 years for some crimes. Furthermore, the older boys do not need to locate in the public streets at night for protection and are therefore able to take over more secluded locations. This is not to suggest that all adolescent boys sleep in the periphery and all pre-adolescent street children sleep in the main city streets as there is interaction between the two. However, generally, Kakuta and Equatoria are places for older children.

Box 5.15: Sleeping in peripheral spaces

"When the police start to arrest children they cannot find us when we sleep there [at Kakuta]."
"Aba police bwebaba batondise okuyla abana tebasobola kugitegera." (FGD 2)

Plate 5.10: Evening activities at Kakuta



"This is us in Kakuta again. It is about 9.30pm and we are sitting at the fire that we made from scrap wood that gets thrown here. It was very cold at night and we needed to get warm. Sometimes we smoke marijuana, take fuel and smoke cigarettes. We do this here because the cops don't come here. It helps us to forget our problems and not to feel cold when we sleep...." (B aged 15)

The pre-adolescent children, who have situated themselves in peripheral spaces, can be found at Jambula and Sheraton/Ternan Avenue depots. In the latter instance, some children from the Miniprice depot discovered a disused water station, which they subsequently created into their own place. This is an ideal niche because it is undercover and protected from adverse weather conditions. However, they may not remain there for long if the City Council find a use for the building or demolish it. This may result in the boys returning to sleep at Miniprice. Jambula, although a peripheral space, harbours an eclectic mix of street people as boys, girls and beggars all use the area. This has attracted pre-adolescent boys to the depot because the large

community is useful for protection at night and this off-sets the need for a more public location.

Figure 5.17: Preparing to sleep at Kakuta

"These children are sitting at a fire as it is cold and they want to be warm. They are smoking marijuana in Kakuta to help them forget their thoughts and go to sleep." (N aged 17)

Peripheral areas within the city centre are therefore conducive to the location of core depots. Not only are they close to the opportunities of the city, as are street-based depots, but because of their marginal status within the urban environment they are not encroached upon by the changing functions of the city over time. This also means that the children are less likely to be harassed when they are resting, which has been noted as especially important for adolescent boys who are more likely to be disturbed by law enforcement officers.

other sleep spaces

The types of spaces used for sleeping are less diverse than other activities discussed so far. Other than main streets and peripheral areas, only outlying areas and markets were mentioned. Outlying areas tend to be used very little by city centre children as sleep spaces because they are located too far away to travel to late at night or during the day to rest in between other activities. Furthermore, as noted earlier in this chapter, street children in the city centre and the outskirts do not interact very much and therefore the city centre street child would not be well known in the outlying areas, which may make them more susceptible to harassment. However, Katwe and Old Kampala were mentioned as depots located in outlying areas. Both of these areas are relatively close to the city centre and have obvious advantages. As highlighted in the first quote in Box 5.16 these places are used when a child needs to hide if he has been involved in causing trouble. Furthermore, Cambodia is located in Katwe which is an attraction for some to sleep there. However, the benefits of establishing depots further away from the city centre do not outweigh the disadvantages of distance and 'sub-cultural' autonomy. Therefore outlying places are not well utilised by city centre street children as places to sleep.

Finally, markets are used by some children as their depots. Although they are considered major sleep spaces, this is very selective with only Owino and Nakasero markets being used as depots. Although both these sites have large numbers of children living there, this is because the children have sought out niches which are 'hidden' from normal market functions. Often markets are avoided because of the many activities that take place there during the day and tight security controls at night. In Owino and Nakasero the children have managed to encroach on a marginal part of the market space. For example, *Lujya*, the parking yard outside Owino, has been taken over informally by market traders as the building is too small to accommodate them all. Therefore although the regulated area is locked at night there is a multitude of wooden stalls at *Lujya* where it is easy to hide and sleep undisturbed. Furthermore, the children use the skip area behind Nakasero Market as their depot because it is also well hidden. It is used by those who work there very early in the morning as this reduces travelling time. Box 5.16 highlights the benefits of sleeping in markets where food and work are available.

Box 5.16: Comments relating to minor sleep spaces

"Why do you sleep in Katwe-Cambodia"?
"Lwachi mwebaka eKatwe-Cambodia?"
"Because that's where there is good cover [you can find places to hide]."
"Eyo wewa cover ennungi." (FGD 3)

"The reason why we sleep at *Lujya* is because there is peace there."
"Chetuva tusula mulujya waliyo emirembe." (FGD 2)

"We sleep there at 9.00 at night. That's the time when work is finished and that's when we go to sleep."
"Twebaka sawa satu ez'ekiro. Ezo zesawa ezo kunyuka nga tudayo okwebaka." (FGD 1)

"Children sleep there because there are so many things to eat like mangoes and it is a good place."
"Abaana bebakayo kubanga waliyo ebyokulya bingi emiyembe nekubera nti walungi okwebakawo." (FGD 4)

"The reason why I sleep at Nakasero is that I have to wake up early and go in the market and work."
"Kwenva nebaka eNakasero nsobola okukera nengenda mukatale nenkola." (FGD 2)

Although outlying areas and markets are not considered important depot locations, street children have managed to adapt these spaces to their advantage. Outlying areas are used as a 'back up plan' if a street child is unable to sleep at his usual depot and the benefits of being located at the markets has resulted in nearby spaces being adapted for use. By taking over the informal area outside Owino and locating at the skip behind Nakasero, the street children have used their resourcefulness to overcome the fact that the markets themselves are locked up at night. Furthermore, by befriending the security guards, their presence is often tolerated.

In conclusion, the use of the depot for sleep is mostly a night time activity and this is when the largest number of children can be found in any one place. Despite this, some depots are used during the day for sleeping particularly if the previous night's sleep has been disrupted. However, it is generally only well established places which are used during the day such as Kakuta, Miniprice and City Square but even in daylight it is more likely to be pre-adolescent children that locate themselves in public areas while the adolescent boys retreat to peripheral spaces. Furthermore, it is the central areas that are utilised most as depots because of their location relative to other niches where street child activities occur. It is only when there is conflict over such spaces, or antagonism with law enforcement officers, that the children will change their location. Therefore, the situation of a depot appears to depend on close proximity to other street child activity niches, an undisturbed location and, particularly for the older boys, one which is hidden from the public and law enforcement officer's gaze.

5.3.5 Leisure spaces

Having discussed spatial strategies for survival based on the basic needs of work, eating, washing and sleeping, the final aspect of street life important for understanding the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment, is leisure. There were 19 leisure spaces identified most of which were located in the city centre and at depots as illustrated by Figure 5.18. Although often these were in central areas they were mostly hidden spaces as the majority of depots often double up as places for drug use, gambling and playing. The minor areas highlighted included sports niches such as football pitches and other recreational areas for resting and taking drugs.

Many spaces mentioned for other activities are also used for leisure activities. This is particularly true of the main depots in the city where, as has been shown, children conduct a plethora of tasks. However, some leisure niches differ from those used for other activities as some children enjoy participating in sports and therefore open spaces feature as leisure areas which are not conducive to other aspects of street children's functional use of the cityscape. Some activities, however, overlap with other categories already discussed with some children mentioning eating special foods such as chips as a leisure activity or suggesting that stealing was not a survival technique but a game. This illustrates the fluidity and individuality of the street child existence which cannot be compartmentalised. However, a variety of niches were highlighted as important. Peripheral spaces and street spaces, illustrated the majority of leisure spaces discussed by the children. Therefore they will be considered first before looking at other leisure spaces which include markets, sports areas, and NGO centres.

peripheral spaces

It is not surprising that many leisure places are found in peripheral spaces as they are conducive for relaxation and illegal activities such as gambling and drug taking, given their hidden nature. Jambula and Freedom Square are examples of such places which are at, or near to, shaded grassy areas. This is illustrated in Box 5.17 (quotes one and two). Children tend not to be bothered in Jambula as it is just waste ground, or in Freedom Square because it is generally used a resting place by the public so it is common to see all kinds of people there throughout the day.

Box 5.17: Comments relating to peripheral-based leisure activities

"I hang there [Jambula] at 1.00pm taking drugs. When I finish I go to sleep a bit."
"Mberayo sawa musanvu nga kubirayo bweala nga ne bakam." (FGD 1)

"In my leisure time I normally hang at Freedom Square taking drugs.... to avoid the police catching us."
"Ebisera byange ebyedembe ntera kukasiba ku Freedom Square nga gankubako amadrag.... okwewo ma bapolice obutatukwata." (FGD 6)

"For me I do somersaulting, boxing, take fuel and take drugs."
"Nze nekubirako kusama, kubox nenywera kubwenge nga kubanako." (FGD 3)

"For me I play marbles there."
"Nze nzanyirayo dullu." (FGD 1)

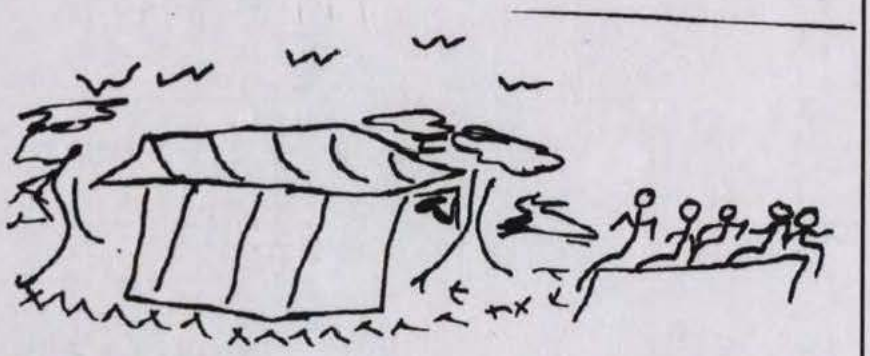
"During my leisure time Uncle Sam helps us because he brings a football and we play."
"Mubisera ebydembe Uncle Sam yatuyamba kubanga atuletera omupira netuzanya." (FGD 3)

"They [older street boys] kick you when they find you and then take your money so when you try to resist he mistreats you in a Mafia way."
"Bakusamba lwakusanga nakujjako ekija omuletako ekifuba nga akutekako akulyawo kimafia." (FGD 1)

"For me I go there [film hall] at 4.00pm and watch Jackie Chan."
"Nze mberayo sawa kumi nendaba e Jackie Chan." (FGD 7)

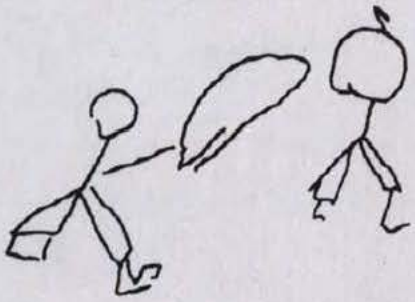
Both Equatoria and Kakuta depots are multi-functional places where leisure is combined with other activities such as work or sleep. In the work space discussion (section 5.3.1), Kakuta has already been highlighted as a place where drugs are traded. Many children also congregate there to take fuel and marijuana as part of their leisure activities as shown in Figure 5.19. The activities that take place in Kakuta are diverse with somersaulting and boxing also being conducted (see the third statement in Box 5.17) because physical strength is seen as a desirable quality of the street child subculture given that most disagreements are solved by fighting. Furthermore, the waste ground near to Kakuta is used for playing games, such as marbles (see quote four in Box 5.17 and Figure 5.20), and often doubles as a football pitch where street children often play football with children from the surrounding local community (quote five in Box 5.17).

Figure 5.19: Resting at Kakuta



"This is the children sitting at Kakuta resting and taking marijuana. Others come here to take fuel and rest because they are not disturbed here." (B aged 15)

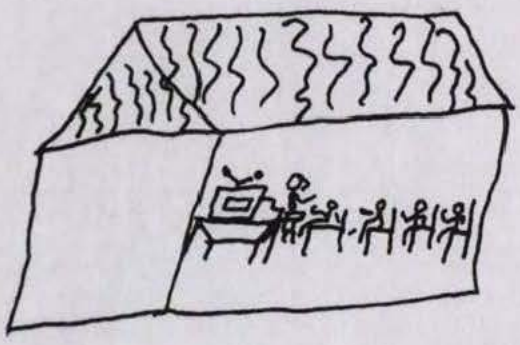
Figure 5.20: Playing *dulla*



"These children are playing *dulla* [marbles], throwing stones to each other." (Y aged 12)

Video halls, however, are the most highly utilised leisure spaces. These are informal huts located off the main streets in Kisenyi slum where there are several showings of American films dubbed into Luganda, throughout the day. Street children enjoy this particular social activity as it is cheap and a form of escapism from their everyday survival strategies. The 'action' films are especially popular providing the children with heroic figures to aspire to such as Arnold Schwarzenegger and Jackie Chan. Quotes six and seven in Box 5.17 demonstrate how the exhilaration of the 'action adventure' style of these films infiltrates their daily lives as they aspire to be tough like their heroes on the screen. Figure 5.21 illustrates that these video halls are used frequently at all times but especially in the evening. It is at this time that police and LDU officers are patrolling the central areas and therefore many children, fearing arrest, will remain in one of the many local film halls, only returning to the depot when the city centre has become quiet.

Figure 5.21: Watching 'action' films in the video hall



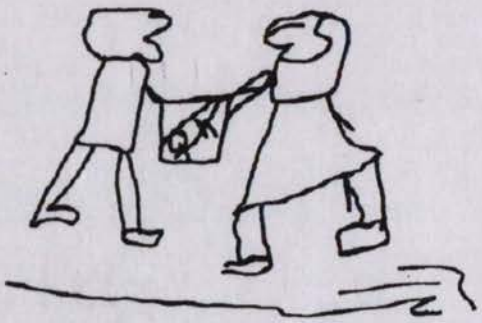
"This is the video hall belonging to Mutebi where we go to watch cheap films. It is a good place to go in the evening so that the police don't catch you." (B aged 15)

For street children, leisure in peripheral spaces is both a hidden and public activity. When engaged in illegal activities, such as drug taking, they tend to retreat into exclusively street child spaces, or areas where they can participate undisturbed. Again it is the adolescent boys who are more careful and retreat into hidden depots to engage in taking drugs. However, for other activities, such as watching films and playing football, the boys must enter into more public areas within the city. It is the plethora of activities that can be carried out in peripheral areas that make them favoured spaces for leisure pursuits.

street spaces

Although the street has been discussed in Chapter 2 as a play space for children, this has more often been associated with residential areas (Abu-Ghazzeh, 1998; Lorenzo, 1992) and due to parents' Appollonian views of children, has resulted in their investigative use of the street being curtailed (Valentine, 1996a). Play in the city street is more usually considered as an out of place activity. However, as Kampala's street children are located predominately in the public space, they have adopted and transformed urban niches specifically for their leisure and relaxation purposes. The Miniprice depot, in particular, has been transformed and used for a variety of activities. As noted in quotes one and two in Box 5.18, gambling, drug taking and 'stealing games' are carried out in this particular place. Although located in the city street these activities are often removed from the street onto the rooftop and legitimised by the constant presence of street children there during the day (see Figure 5.22 and Plate 5.11).

Figure 5.22: Street children engaged in gambling



"This is street children at Miniprice gambling with cards. They do this on the roof where they are not disturbed. S is one of them he is good at this game and wins a lot." (G aged 15)

Plate 5.11: Gambling on the Miniprice rooftop

"This is a closer picture of those ones gambling with cards on the roof. We get up early in the morning and pick boxes and take then to Owino Market and sell them to those who sell shoes. Then when we have eaten we come back here and use that money to gamble with. Sometimes you can get a lot of money gambling if you win." (I aged 15)

Other street-based leisure spaces include City Square, Fido Dido and the Post Office area on Kampala Road. Here opportunistic work activities, described in section 5.3.1, are interspersed with relaxation periods and games (see the final quote in Box 5.18). Beirut, on Entebbe Road, is a special place for street-based leisure because it is removed from the public gaze due to its underground location. Here pre-adolescent children slide along the water tunnels or play hiding games. These street spaces are generally frequented by younger children because they are less likely to be harassed for being 'idle and disorderly' on the streets as children can no longer be arrested for this 'crime' (The Children Statute, 1997). It is only at night that the older boys can participate in street-based leisure. Under the cover of darkness they are able to hang out on

Kampala Road, taking drugs at the Diamond Trust depot. As already noted the disturbance that children face relaxing in such spaces deters them from occupying the depot frequently.

Box 5.18: Comments relating to street-based leisure activities

"For me I go there to rest, take fuel and just be there."
"Nze ngenda kuwumula kugenda ku nywa mafuta nakuberawo." (FGD 4)

"I go to play ludo and gambling because its the safest place, no one disturbs you."
"Mberayo kuzanya ludo nazala anti wawaba sefu tewali ayinza kukwatako." (FGD 2)

"I just sit there [City Square], sometimes they fight, sometimes they don't fight."
"Neberera awo nga nsirise, olusi balwana, olusi silwana." (FGD 4)

How street spaces are used for relaxation depends on the type of space employed. The out of placeness of play on the streets has resulted in only spaces that are hidden from public view being utilised and then mostly by younger children. Miniprice is a particularly lucrative leisure niche due to its versatility and well established presence as a street child place. More wealthy up-town areas are avoided because law enforcement officers patrol these areas more diligently. Even after dark, the older boys rarely use the Diamond Trust depot because of its location in up-town Kampala.

other leisure spaces

Although peripheral areas and streets are the most favoured locations for leisure, other spaces are also utilised in the city, namely markets, sports fields and NGO centres. Markets, due to their bustling activity, are generally not used as leisure spaces. However, as noted in the previous section, the children have developed depots at both Owino and Nakasero by seeking out more marginal parts of the market sites. Furthermore, as depots are often used as leisure spaces, it is not surprising that both Owino and Nakasero are highly cited as relaxation niches. This is illustrated by the first quote in Box 5.19. Due to the magnitude of activity that takes place at *Lujya*, Owino is only utilised as a leisure place for taking fuel and marijuana in the evening once trading has ceased. The maze of stalls at *Lujya* are well hidden at this time and provide an undisturbed place for relaxing and sniffing fuel. The depot at Nakasero, however, is used more frequently during the day due to its location behind the market which sets it apart from the usual trading and commercial functions of the market. Here children engage in gambling and drug taking (Figure 5.23) and the younger ones also play at sliding along the water tunnels located beneath the ground (see quote two in Box 5.19).

Figure 5.23: Smoking marijuana

"These children are taking marijuana at Nakasero." (R aged 14)

Box 5.19: Leisure activities in market spaces

"I relax at Nakasero even if the police are looking for me I can sit there and the police don't get me."
"Kyenkolela eNakasero nfunira yo relaxi police nebwebanga ebadde engoba nsobola okupoyerawo police netankwatako." (FGD 2)

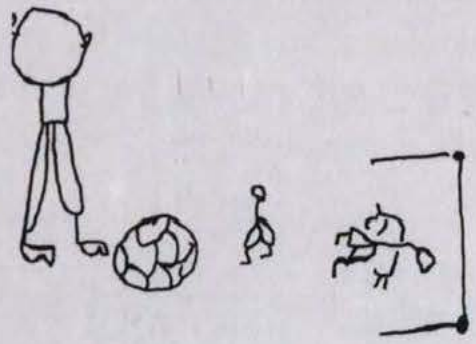
"The sun might be very hot and it burns me and I decide to go in Beirut at Nakasero. That's putting my legs apart and my hands and you slide because its slippy inside there."
"Omusana guyinzo okubanga yunjokeza nyo nongamba kangendeko ku Beirut. Okuteka amagulu kumabali nemikono nokirira anti mubamuserera." (FGD 1)

Sporting pursuits require a particular physical environment in order to be carried out effectively. Street children principally engage in football, swimming and boxing and therefore occupy open spaces in the city when involved in these activities. This does not mean that their sporting ventures are confined to legitimate sports fields. For example, when formally participating in an organised NGO football match, the children are legitimised by the NGO staff and play on a recognised football pitch (Box 5.20). However, when the activity is informal street children tend to play in parks or on waste ground as demonstrated by Figure 5.24. Sometimes children spectate at Nakivubo Stadium preferring to watch rather than play. However, this is an expensive leisure pursuit and therefore the children have used their resourcefulness and devised ways of sneaking past the guards and ticket inspectors. Their knowledge of the network of underground water tunnels which they use for hiding and washing, can also be used to enter the stadium. Others, manage to employ different strategies and slip through crowds or carry bags for the footballers. All of these techniques ensure that the children enter without having to pay, the excitement of which becomes part of the act of play itself.

Box 5.20: Football as a legitimate activity

"Children normally go there [Clocktower] to play football because the coach of Miniprice wants to make a team for the children of UTC [Uganda Transport Corporation]."
"Abaana ababerayo kusamba mupira kubanga coach woku Miniprice ayagala kukola team yabaana ku UTC." (FGD 4)

Figure 5.24: Playing football



"These children are playing football at City Square. The bigger boy is older and he is teasing the children." (L aged 11)

Swimming is also a favoured leisure activity but again the spaces used tend to be informal as street children lack access to most formal swimming pools. As swimming facilities are generally located out of town, the children only swim at weekends, particularly Sundays, when there are less opportunities for work in the city centre. Lake Kyanja is utilised for swimming because it is one of the few places street children can access, despite the dangers of drowning associated with the area. In Mengo there is an informal swimming pool which is cheap and also used by many of the children at weekends (see Plate 5.12). Within the city centre, swimming is very limited although some of the younger boys play in Kitante Channel situated next to the golf club. Although not a proper place to swim, it can be used when travel to other places is considered too time consuming because it is inconspicuous, well hidden by trees on the golf course.

Plate 5.12: Mengo swimming pool

(Source: Author)

Finally, fighting or boxing is particularly important for street children due to its association with 'power' on the streets and many boys participate both formally and informally (Figure 5.25). They often train at Kakuta in order to defend themselves against other street children. Kisenyi and Katwe gyms are also open to many boys who regularly train there such as the Scorpion gym in Katwe.

Figure 5.25: Boxing training

"These children are sparring at Kakuta so that they will become strong and have power to fight. "(R aged 14)

Leading on from sports fields as street child leisure spaces, NGO centres are also used for playing sports and other games. This is an outreach strategy employed by both FOCA and The Tigers Club. The Tigers Club was originally set up as a football team with football matches forming the central outreach focus of the organisation. As noted in Box 5.21, these football activities are conducted in conjunction with other activities provided by the organisation such as eating, and are run on different days, depending on the age of the boys, to minimise conflict. This results in temporal use of The Tigers Club and the playing field at Lubiri as leisure niches for street children over a weekly period as the boys can only play on their designated day. The FOCA drop-in centre is also used temporally as the music teacher comes only on designated days to encourage the children in music and singing. However, at other times, both centres encourage relaxation, without drugs, and provide games and musical instruments for the children to use informally (see Plate 5.13). As safe havens within the city, many children will relax here while participating in eating, medical or washing programmes.

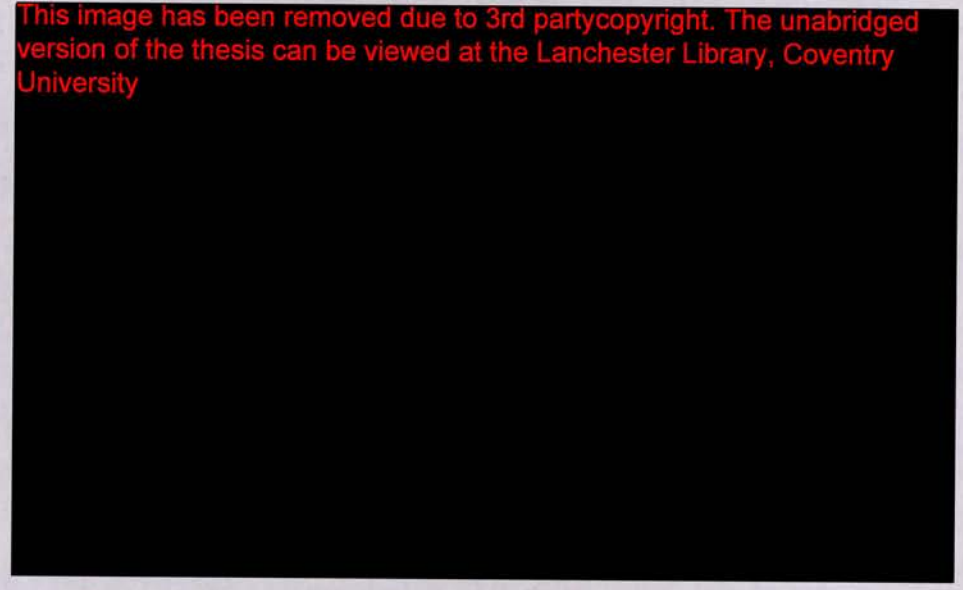
Box 5.21: How NGOs provide leisure space for street children

"When you finish eating food, Uncle Andy takes me and I play football and I serve a lot of goals."
"Olumala okulya emere, Uncle Andy nga antwala nga samba akapira nga mbakubagolo." (FGD 1)

"On Thursday its for us who are under 15 and on Friday its for older ones."
"Olwokuna luba lwaffe under 15 netusamba omupira olwakusatu luba lwabakulu." (FGD 4)

With the exception of market spaces, the activities conducted in these 'other leisure spaces' within the city tend to be dedicated to sporting activities which require special settings or equipment. This highlights that unless this is needed, street children will tend to locate in hidden spaces for relaxation and leisure.

Plate 5.13: Playing the drums at FOCA



"This is us relaxing and drumming at FOCA. These are the ones who beat drums for us. They entertain us and we sing and dance while they [street children] are eating...." (W aged 12)

This review of all street child leisure spaces within the city, demonstrates that the places used are diverse and tend to vary sporadically throughout the day with respect to individual activities. Peripheral areas, are particularly important because they are secluded and the older boys can gamble, relax or take drugs without fear or harassment. Video halls are particularly useful for hiding during evening hours as this is when the police are suspicious of youths on the street. Other spaces are much more suited to different leisure activities with sports areas offering space to play and NGO centres unusual games and activities.

This discussion has illustrated how the street child population in Kampala has adapted the urban environment, not normally associated with leisure pursuits, to meet its relaxation and entertainment needs. This has resulted in the innovative use of space which is designed for other purposes such as the use of 'Beirut' for sliding or the adaptation of waste ground as a football pitch. This is similar to Ward's (1978) assertion that children colonise spaces in the city. With respect to the timing of street child leisure activities, late evening hours are particularly important for watching videos and hanging out at the depot with friends engaging in drug use. This is notable from the daily time lines where these were the only activities mentioned prior to sleeping. Sports tend to be morning or afternoon events as it gets too hot in

the middle of the day. Other than these specific patterns relaxation activities tend to be interspersed throughout the day with other activities in an opportunistic manner.

5.4 Street space for girls

Although male street children dominate Kampala's streets, it is important not to neglect girls. They are less likely to emerge on the streets as street children than boys as they tend to enter into prostitution or domestic service, if they are not more carefully protected at home or married at a young age. Although there are few girls living and surviving on the streets in Kampala, their use of space differs significantly from boys particularly with respect to work space.

The most striking factor is that girls do not actually 'work' and in fact obtain money through more passive activities. Much of their survival is based on boyfriends providing for them and often they will cook for their boyfriends in return for food (see the first quote in Box 5.22). Their alternative income generation strategies also include begging at Mosques and Churches. Occasionally, the girls will resort to begging during the day at the spots where the pre-adolescent boys frequent, such as Fido Dido and City Square, as they also receive sympathy from passers-by. This is noted in the second quote in Box 5.22 to be particularly lucrative for girls who have babies. Sometimes they enter into business with mothers, 'borrowing' babies for begging purposes so that they earn more. The only other work-based activity that girls may participate in, similar to boys, is stealing. For this activity they tend to use the same spaces as their male counterparts and often hang out at the Miniprice Junction in the evening waiting for such opportunities (see the third statement in Box 5.22). Furthermore, while they are there the girls also use the depot to acquire fuel and marijuana from their friends. In general, however, girls rely on boys to support them with boyfriends being essential for survival and protection (see quote four in Box 5.22).

The girls' spatial street existence also diverges from the boys in other aspects of their life. For example, street girls are less likely to sleep on the streets for a long time and often when they get older, they move in with boyfriends or prostitute themselves. The girls who are sleeping on the streets have their own survival mechanisms. If they have children or a friend who has a baby, they may be helped out by one of the local NGOs to rent a room, otherwise they must resort to sleeping outside. Generally they will stay at one of the larger depots at night if they are going to sleep with a boyfriend, otherwise they will stay together for protection while they are asleep. If they are sleeping with friends they mainly stay at Nakivubo Road or Jambula. In the former area there is a guard who assists them and looks after them, as demonstrated by the fifth quote in Box 5.22. If they are not protected at night they fear that they may be raped or

beaten. Statements six and seven in Box 5.22 illustrate this and show that at Jambula they stay with street adults who also help to protect them from rape by security personnel or other adults.

Box 5.22: Issues relating to street girls

"For me at City Square the boys who loved me sometime back [former boyfriends] bring something to eat for me. They go to Nakasero and bring food and we cook."
"Nze ku city square abalanzi abajalako eda nga baronyeza ekyokulya nange bwengenda eNakasero nengenda ku mere netufumba era tulimu kufumba." (FGD 5 girls)

"I have not taken my child to the village so that I can go and beg for money."
"Omwana wange sinaba mutwala mukyalo ngenda naya okusaba sente." (FGD 5)

"Because its [Miniprice] so good and there is money [opportunities to steal]. Sometimes girls get time to sniff fuel."
"Kubanga walungi walio sente olusi abawala abama webafunira akadde okumusa ku kongo." (FGD 5)

"Those who sleep there [Miniprice] have their friends. Others have their husbands [boyfriends] who give them something to eat."
"Abasulayo bayina bakyali babwe abamu bayina babwe wabayo ebyokulya ebyokwebika." (FGD 5)

"The guard [helps us]. He guards us and if those who beat us come he beats them."
Askari. Atukuma bwebanga baze okututawanya ngaba-kuba." (FGD 5)

"When he [LDU officer] wants to love you and you refuse he beats you."
"Kasta atukwan netugana nga atukuba." (FGD 5)

"Because there is a man called N, he cuts our knickers and creeps slowly but, when they see him they chase him away."
"Ani waliyo omusaja gwe bayita ndugwa asala empale nabaso berela kati bwe bamula nga bamugoba." (FGD 5)

"During my leisure time I go and see my charlies [friends/boyfriends] and they give me money and I go to the film."
"Mubisera beyddembe ngendayo nendaba ba chalibange nebampa ku ejja nenge." (FGD 5)

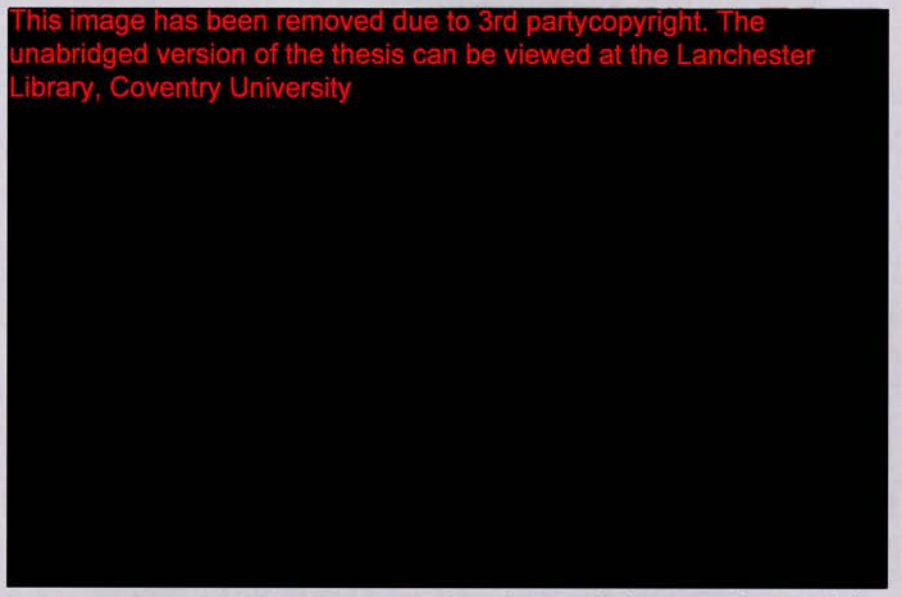
"We go to 'Find Me There' [club] and beat the music [dance]."
"Tugenda munsangayo netukuba ku musiki." (FGD 5)

"For me [I wash] at 12.00pm because I have to bring Namutebi's clothes and they give me money and they clad up [put the clothes on]."
"Nze sawa mukaga kubanga mera nziayo engoye zza Namutebi nga bampa sente bambala." (FGD 5)

In terms of leisure space, it is interesting to note that one main gender difference exists. The difference between the niches used is based on the fact that girls do not participate in sports activities as part of their relaxation. They spend most of their time relaxing at City Square or Jambula taking drugs and gambling (see Plate 5.14). They also cite 'getting ready' to go into town to meet their boyfriends as part of their leisure activities and will wash and change their clothes prior to meeting these boys (see Plate 5.15). They tend to swap clothes and be much more fashion conscious and concerned with their appearance than the boys. Further, given that

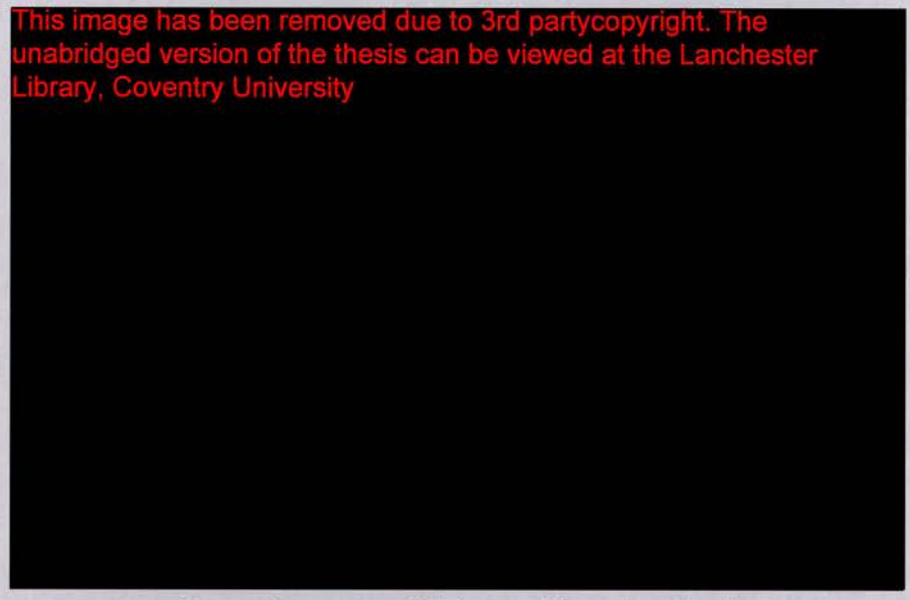
the boys rarely mention the time they spend with their girlfriends as part of their leisure, highlights the greater dependency girls have on their male counterparts than vice versa.

Plate 5.14: Girls gambling to pass the time at Jambula



"We are playing cards at Jambula. We wanted to play cards because its our leisure time." (S aged 14)

Plate 5.15: Getting dressed for the evening

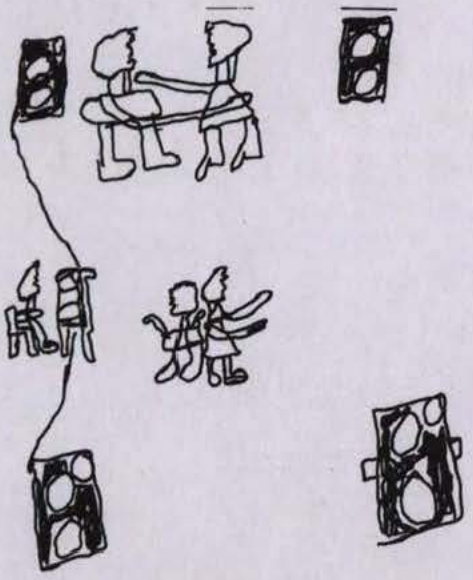


"These are my friends getting ready to go to Miniprice. We enjoy dressing up so we are looking through our bag to choose what to wear. A boy keeps them for us behind the tyres in his house." (S aged 14)

Finally, with respect to girls leisure activities, they also attend discos and video halls where they go for entertainment and to meet their boyfriends (Figure 5.26). Again boyfriends are used as a survival strategy as the girls often persuade their boyfriends to accompany them to the disco so that they do not have to pay to enter. Failing this, they will go to the boys' depots

to meet with them and persuade their boyfriends to given them money which they then spend going into the video halls. This is illustrated by quotes eight and nine in Box 5.22. Here a gender difference can be noted. Girls are more likely to watch romantic films than boys who prefer action movies because for them it is less important to be able to fight on the street as they rely on their boyfriends for protection.

Figure 5.26: Dancing at the White Nile Club



"Sometimes, when there is trouble or we have nothing to do we got to White Nile [club] and beat the music because our girlfriends are there." (N aged 17 - male street child)

For other activities there is greater convergence between girls and boys in the spaces used. This is the case for eating and washing spaces, although with fewer girls on the street they are less likely to frequent such a plethora of spaces as boys. They also have more contact with community members and beggars who assist them and therefore have greater ties to specific places.

Girls tend to use the same eating spaces as boys such as Miniprice and Rice where they purchase cheap leftover food. At the markets, they are more likely to buy, steal or pick raw food and cook it themselves either at City Square or Jambula depot. Boyfriends also bring or buy food which the girls will cook and share among the whole group. The girls, like the adolescent boys, do not resort to eating from rubbish skips. The girls also use the same spaces as the boys for washing but are not so concerned with privacy for cleaning their clothes given that they tend to have more than one set. As the final quote in Box 5.22 highlights, they also wash clothes for other community and street people. For example, at Kakuta and City Square

girls sometimes undertake laundry tasks in return for money or soap and water to wash their own clothes.

The girl street child appears to have less opportunity for survival in the city and is more likely to rely on the help of others. This is particularly true with regard to working and sleeping. Here they face more dangers associated with rape on the streets and often resort to protection from boyfriends. Temporally, their activities are similar to those of male street children as they take drugs and watch videos in the evening hours. Spatially, however, they occupy a smaller variety of niches and spend a lot of their time in only one or two places where they carry out many of their activities, such as washing, eating and leisure. It must be remembered that there are fewer street girls and therefore expected that they will inhabit fewer spaces across the cityscape. The most notable feature of the street girls existence is their reliance on boyfriends for their day-to-day survival.

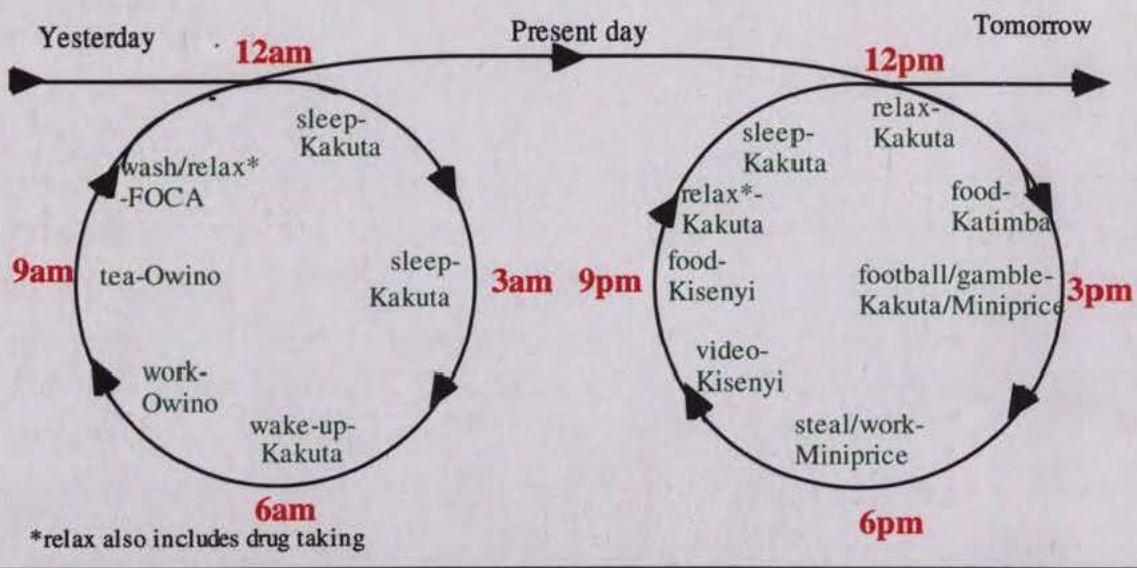
5.5 Convergence and divergence in street children's socio-spatial and temporal existence

The preceding discussion has elucidated that there are spatial, temporal, age and gender differences regarding Kampala street children's survival strategies. Spatially, the crowded areas harbour the best opportunities for both legal and illegal activities. Outlying areas are only used when there are problems with security in town or for illegal purposes. Temporally, early mornings and evenings provide the greatest opportunities given the unregulated nature of street child employment. The haphazard, opportunistic way that the majority of street children survive, is based on crowds and freedom to target customers. Therefore, the busy periods of travelling to and from work and lunch time, coupled with the relaxation of security, means that market work, street work and illegal activities are best carried out at these times. Eating is bound spatially to areas where cheap food is provided although some children also cook at the depot. The spatial niches appropriate for washing activities are more rigid given that privacy is difficult to find within a public environment. Plentiful, clean water is also necessary and therefore NGOs are most frequently used. However, novel places are also transformed into bathing places by the children, as was noted with regard to the underground water tunnels of Beirut or out of town lakes. By amalgamating the spatial and temporal information of street children's activities presented above, it is possible to create a general pattern of street life.

5.5.1 The daily life of Kampala's street children

Figure 5.27 has been developed to exemplify the 'hypothetical' daily spatial and temporal existence of a Kampala street child. This was created by drawing on the preceding discussion and amalgamating the most 'popular' activities undertaken throughout the day at 'popular' spatial niches in the city. From this it can be noted that the day usually begins with some form of earning activity before breakfast. This is often in the form of market work, either selling, off-loading or 'carrying luggages'. After work tea or bread is often purchased or acquired from piece work and satisfies as breakfast. However, morning work usually makes the children dirty and therefore by mid-morning, once the sun has risen, a lot of them bathe and wash. FOCA is considered a good place to wash and many children relax there playing the drums or learning literacy while their clothes dry. After eating porridge they may relax for a while at the depot before seeking out the leftovers from lunch at one of the markets in town. Afternoon hours tend to be devoted to leisure and can take many forms, depending on the preferences of each child or local NGO programmes. A child who normally takes fuel or gambles at the depot, on Thursdays may be found playing football at The Tigers Club. Afterwards, when its getting dark, snatching and pick pocketing may become the focus for that child or begging from the increasing traffic stopped at the congested Miniprice Junction. Once some income has been acquired, he might engage in a visit to the video hall before buying supper at one of the late night food stalls in Kisenyi. Then, more than likely, it is back to the depot where fuel or marijuana may be taken, while sitting round the fire to keep warm, before falling asleep.

Figure 5.27 The daily life of a male Kampala street child



This description of a street child's day is generalised and it is important not to neglect street children's individuality and agency, not just in terms of characteristics that they possess such

as age or gender, but also in the personalities and preferences they have. 'Street childhood' in Kampala is an amalgamation of experiences lived out on the urban environment and is diverse in nature. The maps, drawings and photographs used, illustrate that each child has a unique set of experiences and circumstances that cannot be rigidly compartmentalised. As this chapter has highlighted, although there is coherence among the street children, up to a point, where their experiences are similar, their preferences differ and this is reflected in the range of survival strategies adopted and spatial niches used across the urban landscape.

To exemplify the individuality of a street child's socio-spatial existence, a comparison of the photo diaries of B (aged 15) and M (aged 9) illustrates that they are entirely different. B illuminates his attendance at a training workshop in Katwe where he makes bags, working at Nakasero market off-loading, washing at Nabagereka and sleeping and taking drugs at Kakuta. M, on the other hand, focuses his activities around the Miniprice skip, an important place to him and his friends. His photo diary concentrates on this area as a place for eating, sleeping and working. Although both of these boys are categorised as full-time street children, their daily experiences are very different. They diverge not only in the specific work activities they do (off-loading and begging) but also in the spaces they occupy. B covers a greater distance and splits his time more evenly between places while M rarely moves from his depot unless he is going to the video hall or to work. In further contrast S's (aged 14) diary concentrated less on work-based strategies and more on domestic and personal activities. In particular she focused on how the girls will dress-up to go into town and meet their boyfriends, their main survival strategy.

The children selected to illustrate this divergence in street experience, possess different characteristics in terms of age and gender. The differences however, are not just between pre-adolescent and adolescent children and between girls and boys, but those with similar characteristics also create their own unique street childhood experience. For example, the maps of two friends A (Figure 5.28) and L (Figure 5.29), aged 11 and 10 years respectively, elucidate this point. Although both maps show Owino Market and Miniprice as important places where the boys work and sleep, A's map also suggests that he is a keen footballer given that he highlights several sports fields as important leisure spaces for him. L's map, on the other hand, suggests that he is less interested in sport and enjoys watching video's to relax. L is much more interested in the arts and, in fact, has a slight physical disability which deters him from participating in sporting activities. This demonstrates the importance of considering children as social actors in their own right, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.

Furthermore, not all children engage in taking fuel or stealing and others use their talents to survive. The daily time lines shown in Figure 5.30 compare the experiences of two 15 year old boys. I's outstanding abilities both in singing and playing football are emphasised. BC's

Figure 5.28: A's map of important places in Kampala

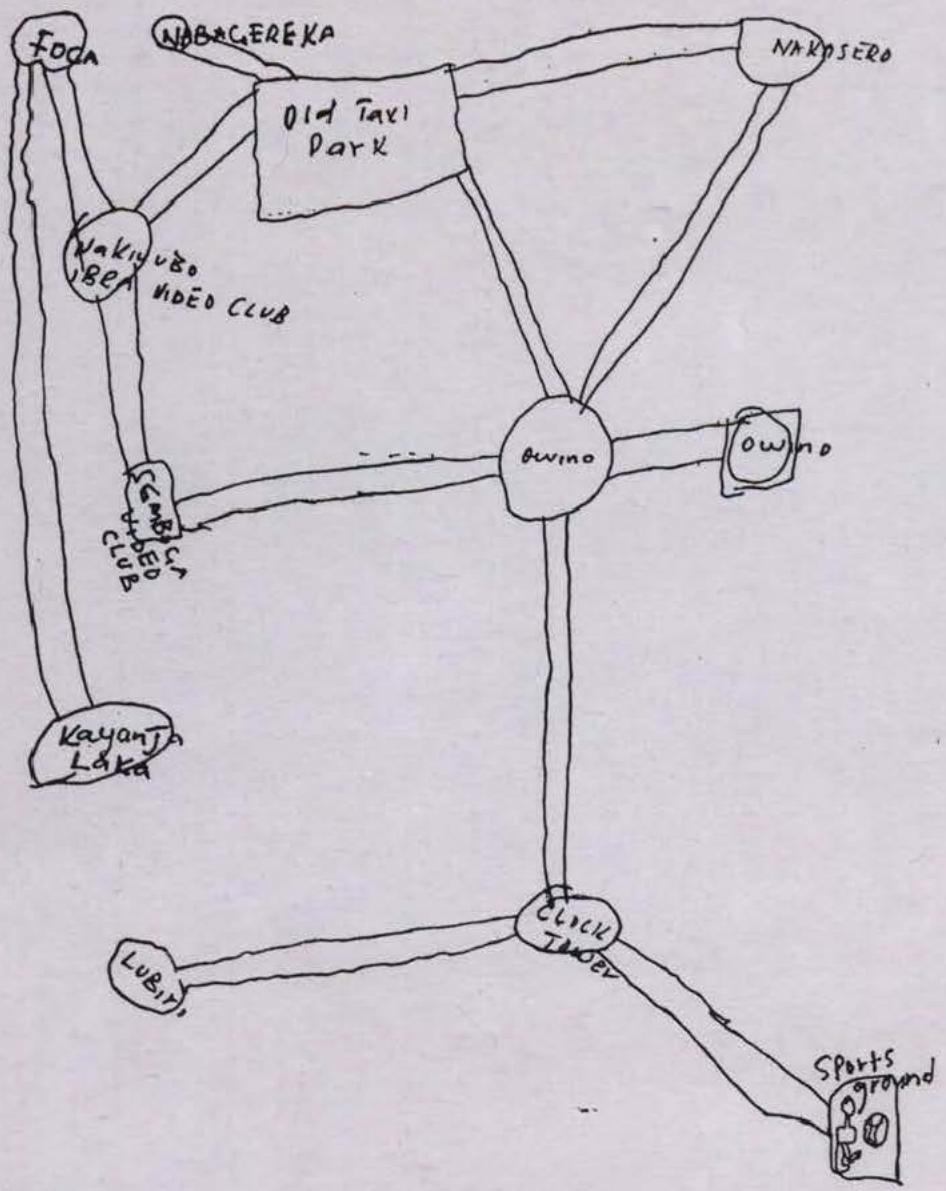
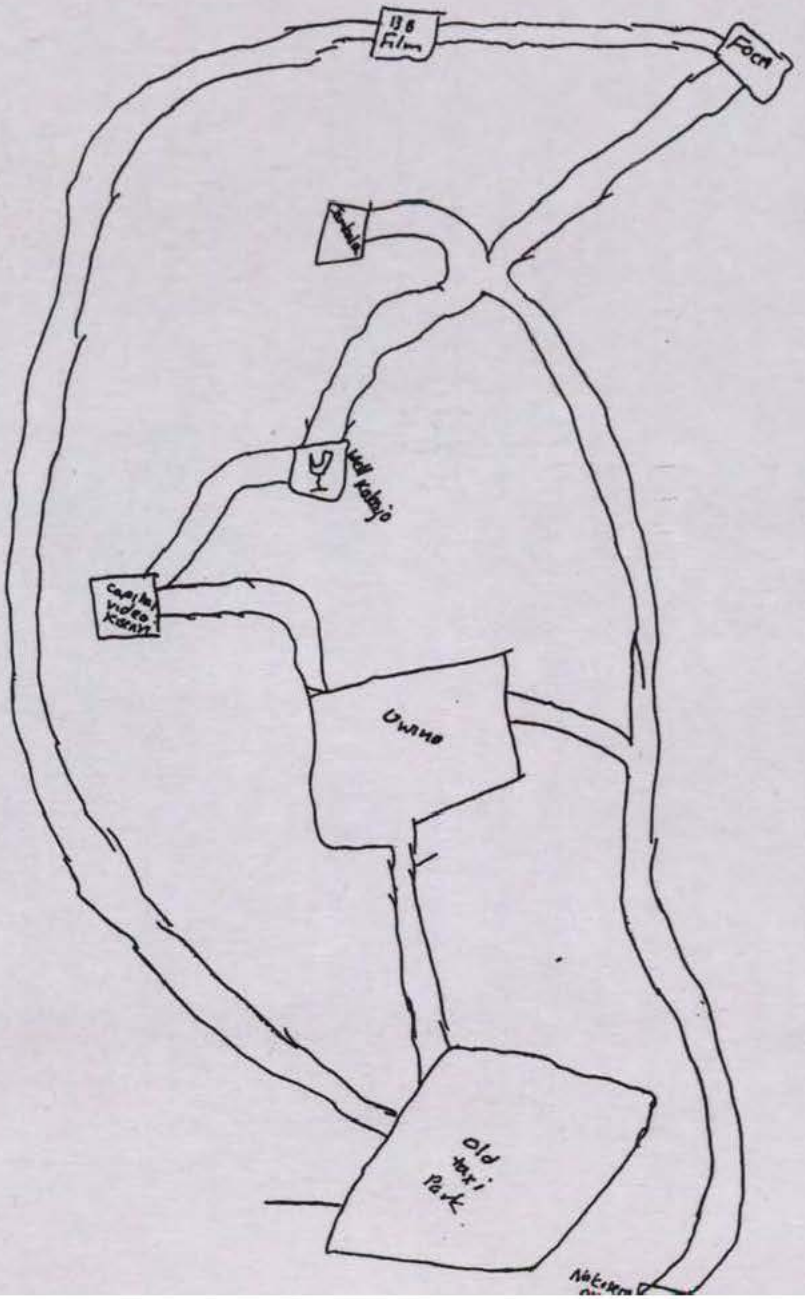
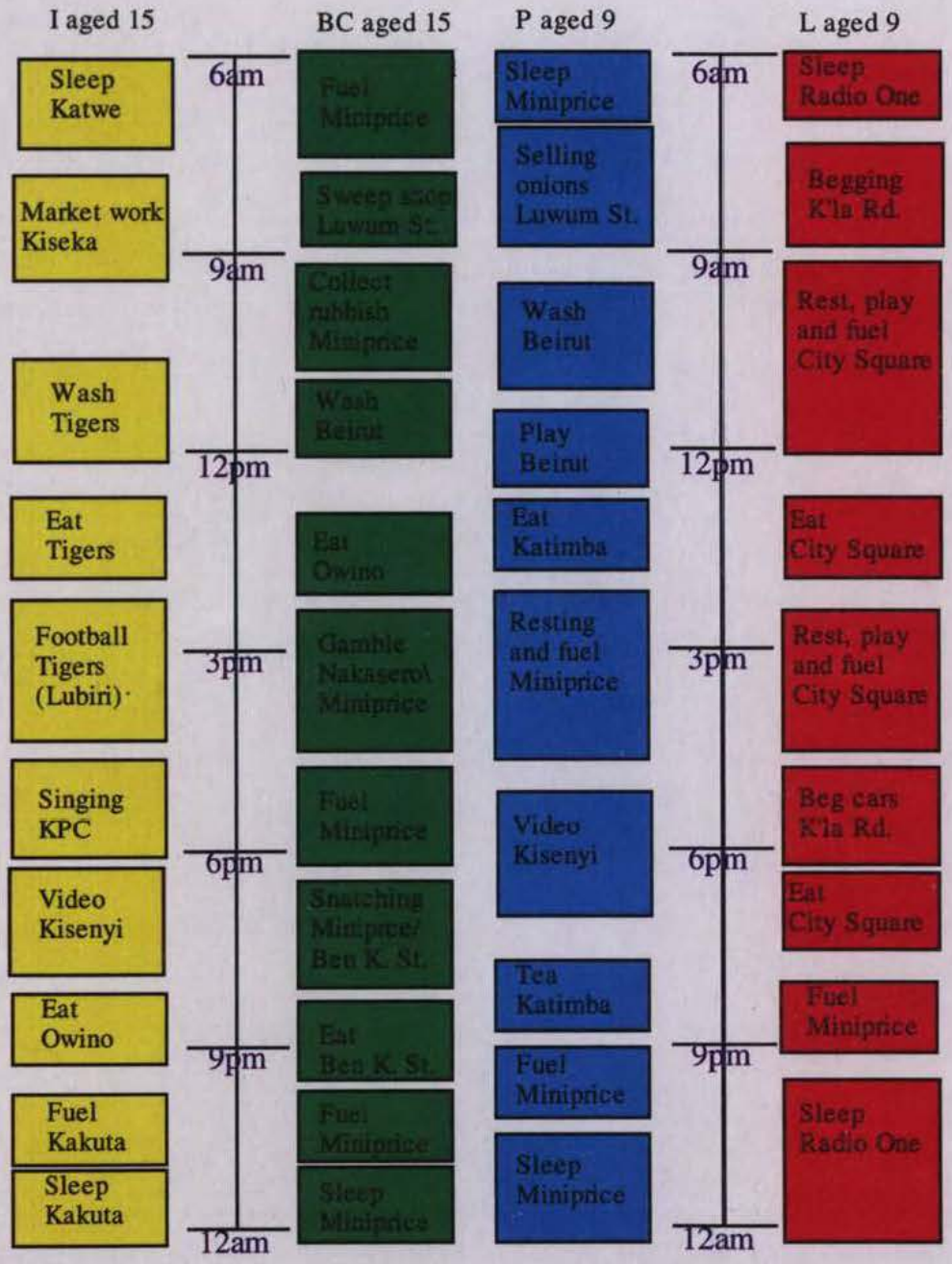


Figure 5.29: L's map of important places in Kampala



experiences are based more on illegal activities as he spends time snatching, gambling and taking fuel. The experiences of the younger boys also diverge. P and L are both 9 years old. P's time line however, is based on selling onions to make money and eating leftovers at Katimba Market. Although both boys take fuel and spend much of their time around the depot, L begs, rather than works, for his fuel money and forages in the City Square skip for food. Such experiences highlight the inability of categorising street children neatly into a single group and draws attention to the fact that they are essential social actors in determining their day-to-day experiences.

Figure 5.30: Individuality in street children's use of space: comparison of time lines



Although the multiple experiences displayed in this chapter illustrate the individual differences of the children concerned, several main themes emerged highlighting the existence of a Kampala 'street childhood'. The categorisation of activities into working, eating, washing, sleeping and leisure, and their subsequent spatial and temporal manifestations, results in a relationship between the urban landscape and street children's survival strategies.

5.6 Chapter summary

The street child population in Kampala has a distinct childhood existence. Their day-to-day survival is based on generating income either by work, begging or stealing activities. This then allows them to eat, wash, sleep and relax. The urban environment is used as a forum for street life through the creation of survival niches in the city. Money is more likely to be earned in crowded commercial areas such as markets and main streets. Food is also found in similar environments as well as in City Council skips where restaurant waste is dumped. Washing niches and leisure spaces demand greater privacy from the public and therefore children retreat into hidden areas. Sleep is spatially located in such areas but the cover of darkness and the reduction of people in the city at night, results in a greater diversity of niches available to the street child population.

The daily survival strategies are therefore located spatially in pre-determined niches favourable to the perpetuation of street children's existence on the street. However, returning to the conceptualisation in Chapter 2, it is not only the relationship with the spatial that influences street child geographies. This is particularly important given that many of the activities described here also involve other social actors in the urban landscape. Therefore, Chapter 6 will examine the social influence and interaction between street children and the urban environment. The particular focus will be on how street children, as typically 'out of place' in the city, are affected by street users and, in turn, how this affects their decision to locate within particular city spaces.

6: The place of street children: social interactions in the city

6.1 Introduction

As conceptualised in Chapter 2, the place of street children within the urban environment is determined not only by each child's choice of spatial location, influenced by the physical layout of Kampala's cityscape; but also by the presence of, and interaction with, other street users. Therefore, having discussed the street children's relationships to the physical environment and their resourceful adaptation of particular spatial niches within Kampala, this chapter moves on to consider the social influences which affect their place in the city. It is the social relations that take place on the street which determine the groups and individuals who use it. Therefore, the activities discussed in the preceding chapter, highlighted as spatially specific, will also be affected by social influences and interactions within the city. This chapter will follow the format set out in Chapter 5, exploring these interactions through street child activities. This will begin by examining work-based relationships, followed by eating-based, washing-based, sleep-based and leisure-based relationships. However, this chapter will focus on the human influences that impact upon each of these daily survival activities. Social interactions on the street are not only concerned with how other street users influence the place of street children, but also how the presence of street children affects the social city. Therefore how street children deal with, and respond to, other street users will also be considered.

Through discussion and brainstorming, based on the survival activities and spatial patterns developed and created by Kampala's street children, several groups and individuals were identified. As detailed in greater depth in Chapter 3, structured interviews were conducted with members of the public and working groups within the city and a questionnaire was administered to law enforcement officers. The information obtained from these surveys was coupled with semi-structured interviews, undertaken with notable individuals whom children had identified as influencing their daily movements. The result is a complicated network of influences which, together with the physical layout of the city, determine the socio-spatial presence of Kampala's street children.

6.2 Social influences on street child activities

Throughout their daily lives street children have regular contact with others who live out their lives, at least in part, on the street. Chapter 2 illustrates that these street users are an

eclectic mix of people conducting a plethora of activities in the urban environment. Here difference is key to the complex human interactions that exist with groups and individuals undertaking their own activities both in accordance with, and detrimental to, others. The presence of street children is a further dimension to this complex mix of social relations.

Several groups were identified as having close contact with the street child population. They included: law enforcers, namely the police and LDU; members of the public and working groups, namely: Uganda Transport Operatives and Drivers Association (UTODA), vendors, hawkers, shopkeepers and City Council employees. Other groups and individuals were interviewed separately as they were named persons with whom children had specific contact. This included scrap dealers, NGO workers, video hall owners, specific law enforcers, such as named security guards, and homeless street people.

Each group or individual affects street children in different ways. The greatest level of contact however, is centred around work activities. This is a street child's basic survival and, as already identified in Chapters 2 and 5, this is inherently bound to outsiders for begging, stealing, and employment. Eating activities are also dependant on others as sources of food in the markets and at the skips. Spaces for washing, sleep and leisure are less affected by members of the social street as they are bound to the necessity for non-interaction despite their location in the urban landscape. This highlights that although all street child activities are conducted in the public space some are private in nature which, in turn, will affect their spatial location as the children seek to avoid interaction on the street. The relationships that develop around each of the street children's five main activities of work, eating, washing, sleep and leisure will be discussed in turn. The discussion will focus on the way in which these relationships are likely to influence the physical presence of street children within Kampala's urban environment.

6.2.1 Work-based relationships

There are three main work-based relationships centred around the survival strategies of Kampala street children. They are concurrent with employment, begging and illegal activities. Each of these activity groups result from different types of relationships with members of the social street.

informal employment

As identified in Chapter 5, informal employment is conducted in a variety of places and therefore involves a myriad of relationships with street users. The interaction that occurs

between street children and members of the public appears to result in a symbiotic relationship. The children are used to carry luggage or perform other small tasks such as calling taxis or fetching water in exchange for money. From the interview survey of members of the public, 31.8 percent identify honest work as one street child activity suggesting some level of involvement in their employment. However, only 13.9 percent view street children as helpful and only 9.3 percent state that the contact they have with street children is work-based.

A stronger employment relationship exists between street children and members of street-based working groups within the city. Of the workers interviewed, 77 percent state that they have contact with street children and 45 percent state that this is through work activities. This was mostly vendors and shopkeepers as they often develop particular associations with street children given that their occupational activities produce small tasks that can be undertaken by children such as removing rubbish and sweeping. As highlighted from the first quote in Box 6.1, a businessman located on Kampala Road employs and helps some street children.

Those who employ street children were also more likely to view them as workers rather than street children because of their honest, hard-working attitude. Although this was not the most cited view at only 25.8 percent, it illustrates the fluid nature of a street child existence. In such cases they become legitimised on the streets and formalised as workers, as was also demonstrated in Lucchini's (1996b) study of working children in Montevideo, Uruguay. For this reason they are sometimes not even noticed as being 'out of place' in the cityscape because of their smart appearance. In this way, some street children, particularly adolescents who have managed to develop some capital, are able to blend into the urban work force. This work is associated with down-town areas (58.5 percent) which coincide with the crowded parts of Kampala such as Miniprice (79.8 percent), markets (39.4 percent) and transport areas (22.4 percent) where most vendors, shopkeepers and informal economy workers exist and provide opportunities for children to earn some money. However, it is not every shopkeeper or every market vendor that will help children in their quest to survive on the streets illuminating the individuality of the relationships that develop. For example, in the markets, where many children go to sell fruit and vegetables, they mention particular vendors who help them. This relationship is symbiotic as identified by one vendor in the second quote in Box 6.1.

Statements three, four and five in Box 6.1 illustrate that outside the markets, on the streets, children collect all manner of objects that they can sell to other street users. In Kisenyi, there are scrap dealers who will buy from children, both to help them and to improve

their business. Some workers, however, feel that the relationship street children have with them is much more dependant, in that the children rely on the work they provide but that their businesses are not helped by employing street children. The final quote in Box 6.1 highlights this dependency not only in terms of survival and employment but also in terms of social support whereby significant individuals use their interaction with street children to help them develop 'good behaviour'.

Box 6.1: Adults comments relating to street children's informal employment interactions

"There are quite a few of them near our shop and we try to help them now and again to stay off the streets by employing them. I allow them to sleep in the alley here and give them a uniform and food. I find them honest and hard-working." (Interview, shop owner, Kampala Road)

"Sometimes they have no money and I give them things to sell and they bring me the money." (Interview, vendor, Owino Market)

"They bring scrap here and they sell it to me.... They come here all the time with scrap. I help them because I am a parent and I think this could even be my child." (Interview, scrap dealer, Kisenyi)

"It doesn't help my business in anyway because if they stopped bringing scrap others would bring. It helps a bit as they bring scrap but mostly it helps them as they get money." (Interview, scrap dealer, Kisenyi)

"I have contacts with them by giving them jobs of sweeping... I also tell them not to sniff [fuel] because I want to help them to be good people." (Interview, hawker, Luwum Street)

Law enforcement officers tend not to interact with children who are undertaking honest tasks and therefore only 42.6 percent of respondents agree with the statement that street children can be useful and only 10.4 percent believe them to be hard workers. This illustrates how different relationships affect different street child activities. Law enforcers, however, become more influential and have much more contact with children who participate in begging and illegal survival opportunities, discussed later in this chapter.

In terms of social relationships through informal employment activities, there appears to be a greater interaction between street children and street-based workers and members of the public than with law enforcement officers. This is because the children's presence on the street becomes legitimised through positive involvement with other street users and is therefore not disruptive to the social function of the city. By conforming to the social relationships that exist, and conforming to the appropriate behaviour for the street, the children are accepted into the street space of informal work. This is in line with Massey's (1994) and Cresswell's (1996) assertion that placeness, and conversely out of placeness, is based on the interactions and expected behaviours of social actors within a particular locality. Here street children conform to the social relations of the consumer street and are therefore involved with particular street user groups.

begging

The relationships that develop between street children and other street users are complex and multi-dimensional depending on the activity which brings them together and the situation, age and gender of the individuals involved. Begging is one activity in which pre-adolescent boys and girls dominate. Due to the sympathy they gain from their young 'childish' looks and helplessness (19.7 percent of the public interviewed view street children as helpless) they are able to develop a parasitic relationship with members of the public from whom they beg (see Figure 6.1). Many (59 percent) also believe that the actions of the public within this relationship determines the spatial movements of street children with 39 percent stressing that if they are helped in a particular place they will go back; and 20 percent stating that if they are chased or arrested in a particular place they will avoid it. Street children's dependence on interaction with members of the public for begging is more important than for other 'work' activities. In this instance 54.5 percent of public respondents state that it is through begging that they come into contact with street children. This again suggests that there is a plethora of social connections which can affect a street child's place in the city.

Figure 6.1: Street children begging in the crowded taxi park for survival

"These are children begging money on the street.... They are sad because they have to ask for money to help them. They are begging in the Old Taxi Park next to the tree where they get shade." (G aged 14)

This association, however, is not always favourable and often begging children are viewed as disruptive especially if they are under the influence of drugs, appear shabby and behave in an unruly manner (see the first two statements in Box 6.2). The majority of

those involved in the survey (92 percent) labelled the children as 'street children' because of their subcultural behaviours and appearance which was in contradiction to their image of the city with 49 percent highlighting street children's appearance as setting them apart from the rest of urban society. Quotes three, four and five in Box 6.2 show that street children's social influence on other street users through begging results in their 'out of placeness' in the urban arena. The general consensus among the public is therefore that street children need to be removed from the streets. Here the social influence of a street child is viewed as negative and contesting the city.

Box 6.2: Comments relating to street children's begging relationships on the street

"....like if I'm in my car here [Kampala Road], I have to close the window because they are always begging and stealing from us." (Interview, male, 30-39)

"[I do not have contact with street children because] they have the wild behaviour of animals, they use foul language, take opium [marijuana], beg and steal." (Interview, male, 30-39)

" Its not proper to see a child on the street they should be taken somewhere.... like a home." (Interview, female, 18-29)

"They should get somewhere to live, not the street." (Interview, male, 18-29)

"These kids are a real problem to the city. They need to be taken off the streets.... to make them normal kids again." (Interview, male, 30-39)

"They beg in front of my shop and bother the people getting in and out of their cars." (Interview, shop owner, Kampala Road)

The working population are also involved with children who beg. In particular hawkers, market traders and shopkeepers are targeted. Shopkeepers mention the disruption begging children cause to their business, particularly on the up-market Kampala Road where the shops cater for a wealthy clientele, illustrated in Box 6.2 by quote six. Given this, the majority of workers interviewed describe the children they have contact with as street children due to their disruptive behaviour (17 percent), shabby appearance (39.4 percent) and idleness (13.8 percent), lifestyle patterns that are not conducive to the image of sophisticated urbanity. For these reasons some workers fear to engage the children in employment generation and believe they need to be removed from the streets by individuals, the government or NGOs (62.8 percent).

Contact with law enforcement officers through begging is minimal despite the fact that 74 percent believe street children to be idle and disorderly, an offence which includes activities such as begging and gambling 'in a public place' (The Children Statute, 1997:50). They also believe that street children are commonly arrested for being idle and disorderly (85.7 percent). However, when separated out as an illegal activity begging has

a much lower criminal status despite the fact that many street children engage in this for survival. This is because it is the pre-adolescent children who benefit from begging and as The Children Statute (1997:48) states: '[N]o child below the age of twelve years shall be charged with a criminal offence'.

Therefore, in terms of begging, street children are regarded as out of place given that this activity is contradictory to other social interactions that take place on the street. Furthermore, street child subculture is played upon by begging children who present a poverty-stricken image to their clients. This further contests the accepted behaviours of the street (Cresswell, 1996).

illegal survival

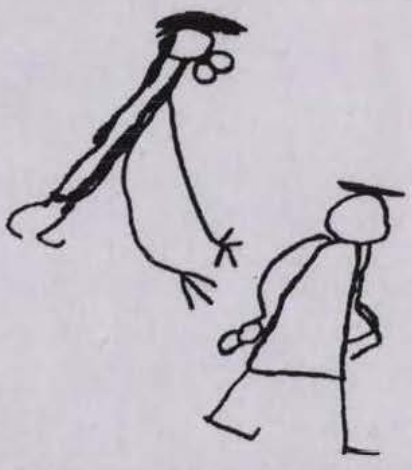
The begging child is viewed in a dual perspective both as a menace and as a helpless less-than adult, related to Valentine's (1996a) image of children as devils and angels. However, when children engage in illegal activities they are specifically considered to be out of control and in need of restriction such as is outlined in Jenks' (1996) discussion of Dionysian childhood. Those law enforcement officers who participated in the survey, supported this, highlighting street children as dangerous (93.9 percent), thieves (98.3 percent) and disruptive due to high levels of intoxication (97.7 percent). This suggests that an antagonistic relationship exists between law enforcers, whose duty it is to maintain law and order, and street children, who indulge in illegal activity as part of their necessary survival strategies. This relationship is fuelled by the image the police and LDU have of street children: 74 percent of those questioned believe they are idle and disorderly and 68.7 percent believe they have behaviour problems.

The crimes street children most frequently commit are considered to be theft from persons (71.4 percent), drug abuse (81.3 percent), disturbing the public (69.8 percent) theft from cars (79.7 percent), pick pocketing (97.3 percent) and being idle and disorderly (85.7 percent). It is interesting to note that the crimes highlighted are either against society members or causing them disturbance. The most common crime cited is pick pocketing (by 56.7 percent of officers) followed closely by theft from persons and theft from cars. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that such crimes are considered more important than activities like gambling, because of their effect on other street users. This effect is illustrated in Figure 6.2 by P's representation of survival on the streets.

Given that police and LDU are more likely to reprimand children when their survival tactics affect the well-being of others, it is the busy areas in the city such as Miniprice

(65.9 percent), the taxi parks (63.2 percent), down-town streets (70.9 percent), markets (27.5 percent) and Kampala Road (39.7 percent) that are illuminated as places where street children and law enforcement officers come into conflict over the social function of the city. For this reason the police and LDU believe that it is the early mornings (67.2 percent) and late evenings (72.8 percent) when most crimes are committed as the city is busy, light quality is low and fewer officers are on duty. The table below (Table 6.1) shows the percentage of officers who agree or strongly agree with a list of statements relating to street children. The results suggest that the majority believe the street child population to be a hindrance to urban society agreeing that they make the city unsafe during the day and at night (79.2 percent and 67.6 percent respectively) by their sheer number. Furthermore, the table illustrates that law enforcers perceive street children to be more likely to commit crime than work hard for a living. Despite these sentiments, and the fact that 72.4 percent feel street children should be punished if they do wrong, these officers appear to be lenient with respect to beating street children. Only 15.8 percent believe that punishment is the only way to stop children committing crime and 74.8 percent disagree with the statement that 'only beating ensures a street kid will not commit crime'.

Figure 6.2: Snatching a bag from a woman in the street



"I am timing [waiting to steal] the bag this woman is carrying to pull it and go with it." (P aged 9)

The children themselves argue that it is not only their behaviour which creates a relationship with police and LDU as they also suffer unprovoked abuse. In Box 6.3 (statements one and two) they mention harassment, beatings and police arrests as the major difficulties they face in surviving in the city, even from a young age. The girls in particular highlight rape on the streets. Officers are unlikely to admit to this type of behaviour but 21.9 percent did admit to having heard that such abuse actually occurs.

Furthermore, the media report similar findings. In 1995 the Monitor newspaper reported that 'policemen were [the] top sex abusers of street girls' (The Monitor, Oct. 23-25 1995:1). Heightened awareness and the introduction of The Children Statute has reduced such reporting although children still complain of this, albeit more often from LDU officers than the police as is suggested in quote three (Box 6.3).

Table 6.1: Police and LDU perceptions of street children in percentages (N=182)

Statement asked	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
All street kids are a problem to society.	48.8	22.5	19.8	2.7	2.7
Street kids are essential to the economic functioning of the city.	4.9	8.2	19.2	17.0	45.1
A high number of street kids makes Kampala unsafe during the day.	34.1	45.1	8.8	4.4	2.7
A high number of street kids makes Kampala unsafe at night.	33.0	34.6	12.1	9.9	5.5
Street kids are hard working and do not commit crimes.	6.6	0.5	12.6	22.0	55.5
If street kids commit crime they must be punished.	30.2	44.0	6.0	10.4	6.0
Street kids are good if shown love and respect.	17.6	39.6	15.9	12.6	10.4
Only beating ensures a street kid will not commit crime.	2.7	4.9	13.7	34.1	40.7
Street kids are good informers for the police/LDU.	3.8	13.7	20.3	33.0	26.4
To stop a street kid coming to the streets police/LDU should make life as difficult as possible.	9.9	13.2	15.9	31.9	24.2
Street kids like to help police/LDU catch criminals.	4.9	12.6	14.3	313	34.1
Street kids are a disgrace and should be removed by force.	36.8	29.1	13.7	13.7	3.3
It is not possible to discuss with a street kid, only punishment stops them committing crime.	13.2	12.6	19.8	35.2	17.6

Box 6.3: Comments relating to street children's illegal interactions on the street

Children's statements regarding police abuse

"If the police find an older one who has stolen they beat him a lot."
"Aba police bwe basanga omulukulu nga abye bamu kubina dala." (Issues Discussion 4)

"They can lock you [in prison] or beat you up to the point of death and then release you."
"Bayinza omusiba bayinza okumu kubanetukaku poyinti nyomutta nebamuleka." (Issues Discussion 4)

"Are there boys or men who rape girls?"
"Waliyo aba alenzi abo abasaja abakwa kata abawala?"
"Now like a policeman when he is drunk or S [LDU officer] beats us with sticks."
"Kati nga eyo owa police nga batamidd oba S atukyba emigiz." (FGD 5)

Adult public members' comments regarding their own behaviour change

"During the day I am careful with my things and I don't lean out of the car windows because they snatch watches". (Interview, male, 18-29)

"I have to be careful with my bag and hold it close to my body." (Interview, female, 18-29)

"....I have to take my watch off and put it in my pocket. That's why I don't have it now." (Interview, male, 40-49)

"....they can even cut you when you are in cars because they are trying to snatch [your necklace]." (Interview, female, 18-29)

Adult workers statements about children stealing

"If a child brings a watch to me I know he has just stolen it." (Interview, hawker, Luwum Street)

"When they are caught stealing they can run and knock down the stall." (Interview, hawker, Luwum Street)

"I don't have contact with them because they are thieves and steal from here." (Interview, hawker, Kampala Road)

"When they steal here our passengers complain." (Interview, UTODA, Old Taxi Park)

"They come here to steal people's luggage." (Interview, UTODA, Old Taxi Park)

"They pick pocket the customers so no-one trust them and there is always tension when they are around." (Interview, UTODA, Old Taxi Park)

"We chase them because they are thieves and we don't want them here." (Interview, male, UTODA)

"They steal and take drugs so we catch them and beat them and take them to the police station." (Interview, UTODA, New Taxi Park)

"They are ever and ever encroaching on our premises at the counters. This is bad because we see them here asking for money and some who come are serious pick pockets. You have to chase them but they come back as there are many people to beg from here." (Interview, security guard, Post Office)

Given that it is often crimes against members of the public which result in antagonism between law enforcement officers and street children, it is important not to neglect their role in this relationship. Of the members of the public interviewed, 55.7 percent mention stealing as a major activity carried out by street children in the city streets and a further 15.1 percent state that the only contact they have with street children is when they are victims of the children's crimes (see statement four in Box 6.3). Although this figure is fairly low, many people (44.4 percent) are fearful of becoming a victim of crime and therefore avoid street children at all costs. Nearly half of the public interviewed (41 percent) also believe that their actions cannot influence street children's spatial behaviour because the children's lack of fear encourages them to go wherever they want, taking over and dominating the cityscape. They feel that it is the children themselves who invoke fear into the public and assert their presence through stealing and disruptive behaviour.

This element of fear in the people's alliance with street children can be noted from that fact that an overwhelming majority of 76 percent change their behaviour and 79 percent are likely to avoid areas where street children frequent (illustrated by statements five to seven in Box 6.3). They become more careful of their possessions, particularly at night in the down-town area, but most especially around Miniprice. Of the public interviewed, 59 percent said they avoid this area because they believe street children to be dangerous and theft commonplace. The media also fuel these fears highlighting street children as a burden or a threat to society. For example, an article in the New Vision highlights that: '[T]he children are a menace, they have knives and are dangerous' (New Vision, Aug. 14 1996:17). Their survival from stealing is also overrated with titles such as: '[S]treet kids are a crime time bomb' (The Monitor, Jan. 21 1997:6) and '[Y]outh crime hits Kampala' (New Vision, Dec. 17 1998:8).

Workers also describe themselves as victims of street child crime because the children steal both from them and their customers. Hawkers, in particular, tended to have little contact with street children unless they were buying something or attempting to steal from them. One hawker, in the fourth quote in Box 6.3, highlights that he does not want them to work for him, as this will only involve him in illegal business while others highlight the disruption street children cause to their business (see quotes eight and nine, Box 6.3). UTODA employees are not keen to develop work relations with street children because they state that the children are a menace to them often stealing from their customers in the crowded taxi parks. Box 6.3 (quotes ten to 14) demonstrate that UTODA are more likely to develop hostile relations with street children chasing them and beating them for stealing. Similar negative influences result from security guards who look after major

service centres in the city. For example, and as highlighted by the final quote in Box 6.3, many children beg at the Post Office which tends to disturb customers. This results in the security personnel negatively influencing the place of street children in the city by chasing and discouraging them from frequenting the area.

Work-based relationships and interactions on the street are therefore multi-dimensional. When children involve themselves in legal activities they tend to work closely with people who are undertaking employment in the street environment and occasionally the public who are able to offer them small jobs in return for money. This legal relationship is symbiotic in that both parties benefit. Members of the public, however, are more affected by children begging on the street where they develop a dependency situation, relying on the sympathy and generosity of passers-by. This type of relationship is parasitic with only the children benefiting and can create an antagonistic situation. However, more antagonism on the street develops when children engage in illegal activities, both because they assert their influence by making public members their victims and also because this conflicts with the duty of police and LDU officers. This results in street children having their activities curtailed as law enforcement officers seek to protect the public.

6.2.2 Eating-based relationships

Social interactions are less pronounced regarding the eating behaviour of the street child population. As Chapter 5 has illustrated, there are two main places where street children eat: 'hotels' found in markets and other street locations and skips, although other eating establishments also exist, albeit on a smaller scale. NGOs provide food as an incentive to taking part in other programmes but, the social relationships that develop around these meals are not exclusively based on the provision of food. Children also acquire food from those who distribute bread after religious services, thereby maintaining social relations with mosques and churches. This contact is irregular and often only on important festival days. As noted in Chapter 5, street children sometimes cook for themselves which does not involve interaction with other street users and those eating activities that do result from social relations are often only with particular individuals. This section will therefore look more closely at the relationships centred around eating from 'hotels' and skips as these are the spaces where social interactions are needed most.

eating from hotels

Some children enter the markets in search of food and will often beg from the women who cook there, either in return for undertaking some work or for free. On Kampala

Road for instance, children are given free chips for doing petty work for the larger restaurants. This is illustrated by the first quote in Box 6.4. However, in the markets the children are mostly just paying customers and only receive favours or free food when they have not managed to make any money. This results in a symbiotic relationship as the hotelier helps out those children who they have developed a relationship with and who are also regular customers at their specific eating establishment. This is illustrated by one 'hotel' worker in the second quote in Box 6.4. It is not every caterer who allows children to eat at their 'hotel' because they are often shabbily attired and have a reputation for stealing in the market (as detailed in previous chapters and exemplified by the third statement in Box 6.4).

Box 6.4: Comments relating to street children's relationships with 'hotel' caterers

"They wash the veranda and take out the dustbin and we give them chips. We see they are helpless so we want to help them. They come begging for food so we give them some work." (Interview, restaurant assistant manager, Kampala Road)

"Sometimes they might come when they are broke and have no money. They plead to me and I have to just give to them." (Interview, cook, Jambula-Kisenyi)

"Because they are chased away in other places because they are dirty that's why they come here and I don't mistreat them." (Interview, cook, Owino Market)

"They cannot fail to return to a place if someone gives them something to eat and their problem is to eat so if you give food to them they have to hang around." (Interview, cook, Jambula-Kisenyi)

It is important to note, however, that it is the personal relationships that children develop with the cooks which result in their continued presence at particular 'hotels', particularly when they are generously helped by the staff (see the final quote in Box 6.4). However, it is the pre-adolescent children that are most likely to benefit from the sympathy of cooks in the larger markets and 'hotel' areas. Despite this, at Kakuta, the familiarity the older boys have with the women who cook there often results in similar assistance.

eating from skips

It is not immediately apparent that social interaction is important for eating from skips. Initially, it would appear to be a private activity conducted out of public view due to the shame associated with eating from the rubbish. However, on closer inspection this is a much more social activity. The children who eat from skips have often developed strong relationships with those who work in the nearby restaurants. This means that when there is food to be thrown away it is brought to the skips in such away that it is not destroyed, although it is still tipped inside in order to avoid spoiling the area. The thoughtfulness

these workers have for the children results in their continued presence at the skip. One restaurant worker at City Square highlights his concern for the children by stating that he brings:

> "... food to dump here like chicken bones, spring rolls, fats and even tins for them to cook in. It comes from Fang Fang Chinese restaurant..." (Interview, chef, Fang Fang restaurant).

These relationships help the children by reducing the certainty that they will become ill from eating from the skips because the leftovers are carefully dumped and the children get there when it is fresh.

The interactions that occur around sustenance-based activities do not appear to wholly determine the types of places children eat. Many other factors, as discussed in Chapter 5, appear to be more important such as convenience, quality and price of the food produced. However, localised individual relationships with particular people who work in 'hotels' or who dump rubbish at particular skips has aided their acquisition of food. Familiarity with these individuals creates benefits for a street child, such as free food from the 'hotels' or well stored food at the skips, which ultimately encourages their presence at particular eating establishments. These relationships do not determine whether street children eat from skips or hotels but instead decides at which hotel or skip particular children will eat, based on the 'caring' relationships they have constructed with other street users. Moreover, these relationships are age specific, returning again to globalised notions of Appollonian childhoods, whereby younger, pre-adolescent children are viewed as innocent victims in need of a helping hand. The children themselves exploit these preconceived idealisations adults have of childhood to their advantage, using their perceived dependency to beg food or piecework. Street children are therefore important actors in establishing relationships which will help to perpetuate their own survival in the city.

6.2.3 Washing-based relationships

Washing and bathing are private activities that are not easily translated to the public realm. For this reason the majority of children wash either at NGO centres or in private niches they have created in the urban environment highlighting that social relationships based on cleanliness are scarce. The most common interactions are children begging for soap, or money for soap, from the public or UTODA (see the first two quotes in Box 6.5), and the relationships children have with NGOs who provide space and materials for washing as illustrated by the third quote in Box 6.5. These relations are parasitic in that the children rarely provide anything in return.

Some of the older boys, however, have developed a washing connection with a laundress near their depot at Kakuta. Instead of washing their own clothes they have entered into a symbiotic relationship whereby they pay her to launder their garments. In return she provides them with support, particularly when they are in trouble (see the final quote in Box 6.5). This illustrates how these relationships often cannot be separated out for specific activities. In this instance the boys need representation in court which comes from the relationship with the laundress. In return for this her business is enhanced by their custom. It must be noted that this relationship is confined to older boys who have a greater disposable income, mainly gained from illegal activity such as snatching and selling drugs to younger boys. A similar relationship sometimes develops between adolescent boys and street girls whereby they take their clothes to their girlfriend to wash in return for providing her with money, food or drugs.

Box 6.5: Street children's interactions on the street relating to washing and bathing

Children's statements

"The reason why we wash from there [Nakivubo Settlement] - you might go there when you have no soap, then someone comes and gives you soap and then you wash."
"Chetuwa twoleza wo oyinza okugenda wo ngo oyina sabuni olinajja nga aze okwoza na kulewo sabuni gwo'sobola okwezesa."(FGD 1)

"Miniprice is a good place [to wash] because it is next to the [taxi] park. You can be with no soap and then people of the [taxi] park give you."
"Miniprice wantu walungi nyo kubanga walilanye park oyinza okubanga toyina sabuni abantu bo kupark ne bakwa." (FGD 7)

Adult's statements

"There's always boys coming in and out of the [Tigers] Clubhouse either to wash or because they've come across a particular problem...." (Mr. Andy Williams, Tigers Club, Interview, 1998)

"If they are in a problem like the police want to arrest them then they can come here to sleep. I help them like, if they are arrested, and taken to prison and they call me and I go and stand for them in court. I am their relative who vouches for them." (Interview, laundress, Kakuta)

Washing-based relationships are therefore minimal particularly as it is a private activity conducted in specialised niches away from the majority of street users. On closer inspection however, interactions do exist. This is distinguishable by age as pre-adolescent children are able to beg for soap while the older boys are helped by local women and girlfriends with whom they have developed symbiotic relationships, in return for money, food or protection.

6.2.4 Sleep-based relationships

As highlighted in Chapter 5, street children sleep both during the day and at night, depending on their circumstances. During the day, there is little reason for contact to be made with other street users as the children look for a quiet, secluded area in which to rest. At night, however, their relationship with street users strengthens and develops around the depots. As noted above when discussing illegal activities, the population of street users reduces during evening hours thereby allowing street children to actively engage with environments inaccessible during the day. For example, at Owino Market and Nakivubo Road, when trading ceases and shoppers leave, the children can move on to the street in preparation for sleep (see the first statement in Box 6.6). The same is true for the Diamond Trust depot on Kampala Road which is securely guarded during the day when the nearby shops and services are open. At night security is reduced as trading has ceased. Some depots are selected specifically because they are hidden and away from other street users. This is particularly important for adolescent children who often need to escape from law enforcement officers. For this reason, and as highlighted by the second quote in Box 6.6, Kakuta is well used due to its hidden location.

Box 6.6: Comments relating to street children's sleep interactions

Children's statements

"They sleep there at night because people are working during the day."
"Bebakayo ekiro kubanga abantu bababakola emisana." (FGD 4)

"When the police start to arrest children they cannot find us when we sleep there."
"Aba police bwebaba batondise okuyla abana tebasobola kugitegera." (FGD 2)

"What time do you sleep there [Diamond Trust]?"
"Musulayo sawa meka?"
"Starting at 9.00pm up to 11.00pm [is when we go there] because the police are not many."
"Kuva sawa satu mpaka tano kubanga apolicebaba bangi."
"Diamond Trust is next to the banks so the police disturb us a lot [before that time]."
"Diamond Trust eriranya bank nyini era apolice batusumbuwa." (FGD 3)

"I sleep at Baganda Bus Park because they give us [myself and my baby] something to eat and there is something to cover ourselves".
"Ekisinza okubasiza baganda batuwa ebyo kulya waliwo nekyo kwebika" (FGD 5)

Adult's statements

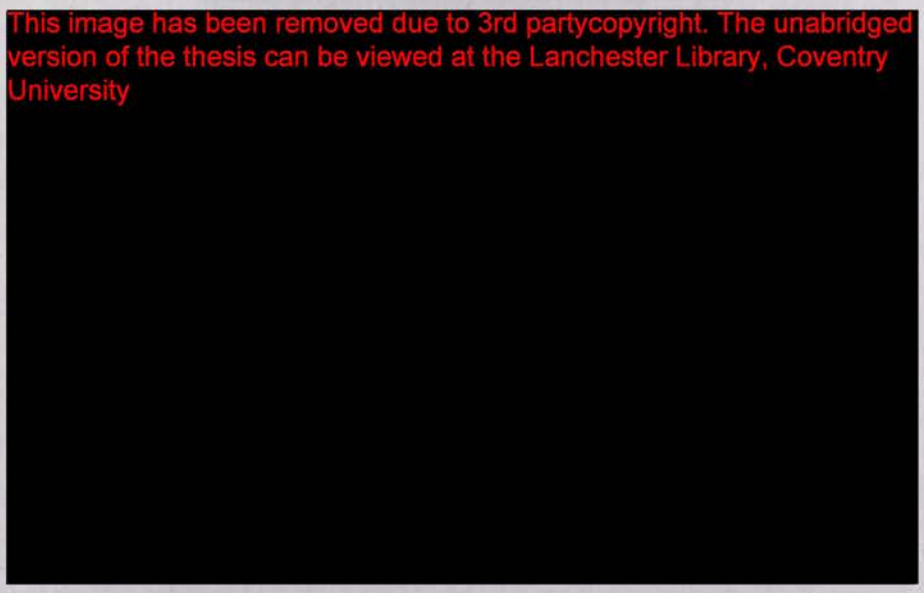
"They go to Nakivubo Road at night because if they have not eaten I give them something to eat. Also there are those who are harassed at other places so they have security here. ....I protect them and give them something to eat like the girls who have children." (Interview, security guard, Baganda Bus Park)

"When it rains I let them come off the roof and sleep down in the [taxi] park under a veranda where it is dry and if the police come I talk for them." (Interview, security guard, Old Taxi Park)

The interactions children have at their depots regarding sleep are not only confined to avoidance but are often positively, and negatively, influenced by security personnel. Around the Post Office, for example, children are chased at night and at Diamond Trust harassment forces many of the boys to move into Katwe. At the bus park on Nakivubo Road and at Miniprice the guards are sympathetic to the children, particularly the girls, and not only allow them to sleep there but also provide them with bedding, food and protection as is illustrated by statements four, five and six in Box 6.6. Such relationships help them to carve out relatively safe sleeping niches on the streets.

Other children develop particular associations with street users which ultimately result in them being provided with a safe place to sleep in return for a service such as watching over property or guarding workshops. The photo diary of A and K illustrates this type of relationship well. They live at Kakuta in Kisenyi but being young they are often harassed and beaten by the older members of the depot. Given this, they developed a relationship with the owner of one of the nearby metal workshops and now sleep safely there in return for guarding the property (Plate 6.1). A similar interaction develops in areas where employment can be gained. For example, some children will sleep in Channel Street or William Street as they can spend the night guarding cars. Their sleep locations are therefore affected by the public who will employ them.

Plate 6.1: Sleeping at a Kisenyi workshop



"This is where we sleep. There are men who let us sleep here. It is at Kakuta. We sleep here in return for guarding the metals at this scrap yard. In the morning we get money for tea and soap. We also go here after getting money, eating and getting fuel because it is where we relax from in the afternoon." (A and K aged 12 and 13)

The location of depots appears to be influenced in several ways by other street users. The removal of people from the streets and busy areas allows the children to dominate the space and create a sleep area where they can rest undisturbed. Non-interaction is also important for children who are involved in illegal activity and need to hide from law enforcers. For this reason secluded places are sought out and identified as suitable places to sleep. In some areas, most notably in the wealthy up-town areas, the police try to remove street children and other vagrant people and for this reason the children are chased when they attempt to rest there. Interaction is important particularly for protection and amicable co-existence. This is pertinent to girls because they are more susceptible to abuse at night and seek out friendly adults who will offer protection. Age is less of a concern regarding the relationships that develop on the streets although pre-adolescent children again can derive some basic survival needs from guards as they often evoke sympathy.

6.2.5 Leisure-based relationships

Relaxation and leisure are also affected by the presence and absence of other street users. Street children's lifestyles excludes them from conducting many of their preferred leisure activities on the street as the children, and many of the activities they engage in, are perceived to be out of place in an urban setting. Their overt display of 'disruptive behaviour' in the public space is viewed with distaste. Such views result in a number of street child activities being conducted in secluded spaces and they are therefore not highly recognised by civic society. Only 1.1 percent and 5.6 percent of public members interviewed respectively mentioned gambling and relaxation as street child activities. The media fuels these Dionysian images of street children by highlighting them as a threat to society. For example, one article entitled '[S[treet kids: a social pestilence' (New Vision Dec. 5 1994:26), suggests street children are existing in an 'adult world' and displaying behaviours that contradict the expected social interactions in urban public space as Cresswell (1996) points out.

There are many leisure activities that do not rely on social interactions and only depend on the children themselves. They are hidden from public view and invisible in the urban landscape. However, some of these activities which are considered out of place in the city, impinge on the social city as the children impact upon the lives of other street users. This is particularly the case for drug use. Therefore this aspect of leisure will be considered for its effect on street interactions before moving on to look at leisure activities which involve a much more dependant relationship between street children and other street users namely: video halls, discos, sports and games.

drug use

Drug use, as the most visible aspect of street children's relaxation, achieves much public attention, often highlighted in the media as an evil activity which fuels disruptive behaviour because 'after taking *bhangi*[51], the boys are made to indulge in all kinds of promiscuous behaviour' (New Vision, Jan. 14 1999:22). It is this activity which installs fear into the public and causes conflict with the police and LDU. Of those law enforcement officers who participated in the survey, 83.3 percent state drug abuse to be a common crime committed by street children which results in interaction between the children and the police who are expected to discourage or arrest them. For this reason, adolescent children often take fuel and marijuana in secluded spaces in peripheral spaces, located out of sight from the public and hidden from police patrols. At Miniprice and on the streets, however, the younger children are less controlled in their behaviour and take fuel in full view of the city. It is for this reason that they are feared and considered out of place in the urban environment. In fact 45 percent of the public and 26.6 percent of workers interviewed highlight that it is drug abuse, and the behaviour change this causes, which turns these children into street children, a term synonymous with *bayaaye*. Furthermore, children are often discouraged from taking fuel and other intoxicants in order to be allowed to participate in other activities.

videos and discos

Drug use is considered prohibitive for developing social interactions on the street and this is especially true when considering other activities street children engage in and the relationships they develop as a result. Video halls and discos are frequented as a form of escapism during the day and as places to hide or sleep undisturbed at night. However, many of the relationships that children develop with the owners of such places results in them having to compromise certain aspects of their lifestyle, particularly concerning their appearance and drug use. Other customers are easily offended by the presence of street children due to their intoxicated state and shabby appearance. Therefore, it is imperative to be known by the video owner. Furthermore, if a good relationship is developed the children are often able to watch for free either in return for piece work or, as the first two quotes in Box 6.7 show, by changing their appearance and behaviour. They are only allowed into BB video hall under strict conditions and at Akai video hall they have to behave like 'community people' so that they do not chase away the regular customers.

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51 '*Bhangi*' is a local term for marijuana, the intoxicant derived from the dried leaves of the cannabis plant.

Box 6.7: Street children's leisure-based relationships

Adult's statements

"I help them by keeping them together and not letting them run around. Some pay when they have money but when they don't they get in for free." (Interview, owner, BB Video Hall)

"They behave good because I tell them they should not take fuel and they don't and you tell them to wash and they go and wash." (Interview, owner, Akai Video Hall)

Children's statements

"For me Tiger helps me because they [staff] come and take us [to Lubiri playing field]."
"Nze Tiger yatuyamba kuba yatunona natutwala."
"Soldiers [don't help us] because if we go there when 'coach' is not there they don't allow us."
"Abajasi bayo bwogenda nga tewali coach tebaku kiriza kuyingira." (FGD 2)

Street children are accepted because they provide good business as often they will stay in the film for several hours a day. The relationship that develops is therefore two-way and in return for providing a regular clientele to these entertainment establishments, they are allowed entry (under certain conditions) and often allowed to watch for free if they have not been able to secure enough money that day. For this reason the children are likely to frequent specific video halls where they have developed relationships with the owners.

sports and games

Sporting activities are less dependant on personal relationships because NGOs are often involved in this provision. However, this still changes and creates the particular spatial patterns that street children have. As illustrated by the final quote in Box 6.7, NGO activity is an incentive to the children and therefore influences their behaviour. Otherwise it is non-interaction that influences where sports are conducted and often children train at Kakuta or other waste grounds around the city periphery where they can play games undisturbed. The nature of these activities means they are not dependant on others and are confined to friendship groups, reducing the need for outside influence. As discussed in Chapter 5, the availability of a suitable space is more important.

In terms of leisure-based relationships, other street users are both insignificant and important depending on the type of activity engaged in by a street child. Illegal and deviant relaxation is better conducted away from the outsiders gaze and located in hidden spaces. Other activities are dependant on social interaction such as watching videos and in such instances it is not the street children who determine the relationship but the video hall owner. The trade-off here is that each child must adhere to the demands of the video

hall owner in order to be allowed entry. By being well behaved and obeying the rules of entry, the children often build up friendships with the owners and employees of their favourite entertainment establishment. Furthermore, the younger children, as usual in their relationships, are favoured by the sympathy they generate due to their 'childish' appearance. Leisure is an activity less dependant on others, and when this occurs it is individual interactions that are the most important social relationships. These are more likely to occur with street workers than law enforcement officers and members of the public. The latter two groups are more likely to develop negative interactions based on more deviant activities such as drug use or gambling.

6.2.6 Street children's social interaction on the street with each other

Having discussed street children's relationships on the street with other street users, the influences they have on each other cannot be ignored. These relationships also affect where different street children locate for different activities. The lack of gang culture among Kampala street children means that their relationships are not overtly displayed in gang territories and skirmishes. However, different groups of friends tend to locate in particular spaces and often this is subject to the involvement of other children. Age and gender differences particularly affect where street children locate.

With respect to age, there are definitive power relations that exist among street child populations that influences where they undertake their daily activities. The older children are able to use the younger ones for particular activities such as fetching food or stealing because they have power and control over pre-adolescent street children. They are able to force a small child to go and buy chapatis or sambusa because he knows that he will be beaten if he refuses. The same is true for other activities such as washing or stealing. The adolescent children use the younger ones to gain advantage because they have the power to beat them. This power is illustrated by the first three quotes in Box 6.8. Given this unique relationship based on the age and strength of each child, the pre-adolescent children often avoid the older, adolescent boys. They will not sleep at particular depots because of this harassment. The extract in Box 6.9 highlights this point demonstrating that often the younger children will change their location in the city to avoid being beaten by the older *bayaaye* [street children].

Although the pre-adolescent boys complain that the older *bayaaye* mistreat them (quote four, Box 6.8), they are also helped by them especially if they are hungry, sick or in need of soap to wash (quote five, Box 6.8). For this reason the older children also positively influence where the younger ones locate in the city. For example, they will frequent

Kakuta in order to buy fuel from the adolescent boys and to learn somersaulting and other fighting skills. Similarly, the older boys will hang around at the depots where the pre-adolescent children spend their evenings so that they can sell fuel to them and earn some money, or to employ them in theft activities.

Box 6.8: Comments relating to street children's interactions with each other

"Sometimes you can send him and he refuses when he [the older one] has something for him to do. Then the older one decides to counsel him by beating."
"Omukulu okiyinza omunyinza ayinza ogama omuto ekintu namugamba kola bwoti ngana ngate tekisanyusa mukulu." (Issues Discussion 1)

"There are those who are pick pockets and tell the child to knock someone. So when he knocks them he [older one] manages to steal from him."
"Abantubeyambisa abatumubatuma ayinza mugamba oyomuzeyi omulaba njagala oyende omu kwabuleko ekintuera nakikola muzei bwalaba ngakanakato tasobola kagoberera." (Issues Discussion 1)

"[There are some] who take the young one's money away from him."
"Omwana omuto nbmujako sente ze nozitwala." (Issues Discussion 1)

"Now there is a *muyaaye* who took my 100/= and yet I had done nothing wrong to him."
"Kati waliwo ekyo kitukuba nga tetuyina kyetukikoze."
"Yes, this *muyaaye* beats us daily when we have not done anything."
"Ate ekiyaaye ekyo kitukuba nga tetuyina kyetukikoze." (FGD 1)

"They can find him when he is dirty and have no soap and when they have soap they can tell him to come and wash also."
"Oyinza okukasanga nga kadugade nga ate tekayina sabuni ate nga gwe oyina sabuni nogamba kwafa sabuni owo twoleze wamu." (Issues Discussion 1)

"Are there boys or men who rape girls?"
"Waliyo aba alenzi abo abasaja abakwa kata abawala?"
"ND [street boy] comes when we are asleep and then opens our dresses."
"ND nga atubikula engoye." (FGD 5)

"*Bayaaye* don't help us."
"Abayaaye abalala tebayamba."
"Why does he beat you?"
"Lwaki abakuba?"
When he wants to love you [have sex] and you refuse he beats you."
"Kasta atukwan netugana nga atukuba." (FGD 5)

Box 6.9: Social influences on street children's changing spatial location

"....while we were talking to the boys at Channel Street, M [street boy] arrived clutching a huge roll of plastic and wearing two shirts! Abbey asked him where he was going to sleep and he replied that he was going down to the other end of Channel Street because at night the older boys at Miniprice wait until they [the younger ones] are sleeping and then go up to their skip and beat them so he didn't want to be there. We then asked him who he slept with but he just shook his head and said he slept alone.... He said that the other small boys from his group had gone to 'Uncle Sam's' in Rubaga to sleep because they were all getting beaten...." (Research Diary, Thursday 4th February, 1999)

Relationships between different genders of street children also affect where they locate in the city. As already noted in Chapter 5, girls are much more dependant on, and influenced by, their male counterparts. They depend on boys not only for food, money and drugs but also for protection. However, it is not unknown for street girls to be raped by their boyfriends or abused if they refuse as highlighted in the final two quotes in Box 6.8. Therefore, the girls tend not to sleep at the major depots in town and will locate themselves in places where protection is guaranteed.

Like all people, street children have disagreements in their relationships with each other. However, these are heightened by age and gender differences which allow the older male street children to have the upper hand. Their physical control over the younger boys and girls results in specific influences on the socio-spatial location of street children in the city centre. In general, it is the younger boys and girls who locate away from their older peers for fear of abuse and rape.

Finally, former street youths also have an influence on children currently on the street. They often develop empathy with street children because they have also experienced street life and lived as part of the street child subculture. Friendship relationships often develop or continue which, in turn, affects the socio-spatial survival strategies of Kampala's street children. The relationships that develop are often paternalistic, with the children calling these young men and women, 'uncle' or 'aunt'. Many of these former street children work as peer leaders for local NGOs as well as assisting the younger ones at other times. For example, 'Uncle Isa' established Cambodia, a refuge in Katwe, and often assists street children with tea or soap when they are having problems. Others sit and talk with the children on the streets advising them or giving them help when they have been unable to earn enough money, while others still develop friendships with particular children which may result in them frequenting the youth's house to listen to music or to ask for some money to go to the video hall.

There are a myriad of social interactions that influence the socio-spatial survival strategies developed by Kampala street children. The children themselves, however, must not be neglected for their participation in such relationships and for instigating and developing friendships that will ultimately perpetuate their survival in the cityscape. Some activities result in a large human resource network being established, while others are more private and depend less on social influences and more on the physical environment. Survival is ultimately bound to both the social and spatial aspects of the city and street children have developed a resourcefulness in exploiting the benefits of each. Despite this, negative influences also exist among particular groups of street user. This arises when a street

child's actions upsets the expected behaviour of the city and from this antagonism occurs. This, in turn, influences the spatial location and therefore the place of street children within the cityscape.

6.3 Chapter summary

Reflecting on the discussion above it seems that there are a variety of interactions and relationships that affect street children's urban existence. These are both negative and positive, and different activities have different levels of involvement on the street with other users. Work is an activity which is deeply reliant on other people. Street child survival is dependant on the generosity of workers and members of the public who will employ them or give handouts on the street. Illegal survival strategies are also employed although these methods of gaining an income are more antagonistic with the street-using population. Eating, washing, sleeping and leisure are less reliant on other people although relationships developed with specific people have been highlighted to aid this process. Particular aspects of these activities are, however, based on non-interaction with other street users whereby seclusion and privacy are more important. This was especially highlighted through the examples of drug use and bathing; activities that are conducted outside the public domain.

Street children themselves are also noted to be influenced by other street children. This impacts particularly upon the younger and weaker members of the street child community. The older boys and former street youths influence them greatly by both encouraging their street childhood and by forcing them to engage in activities such as stealing and drug use. The older boys also depend on the skills and abilities of younger children to carry out small tasks for them and for their livelihood from selling drugs. The result is a complex mix of relationships that create a unique street childhood but also individually affect children in a plethora of ways. Therefore a collective identity made up of individual relationships exists which, when combined with the spatial layout of the city, results in the production of specific socio-spatial survival strategies.

7: The place of street children: marginalisation and resistance in the urban environment

7.1 Introduction

Having discussed the spatial and social survival strategies of Kampala's street children, the conceptualisation of street child geographies developed in Chapter 2, demands that both these aspects be brought together in order to accurately determine how street child survival is influenced by the wider city environment. Returning to Hecht's (1995) work, the spatial cannot be excluded from any interpretations and understandings of how street children create and shape their lives given that they are inherently located within the street environment. Furthermore, social relationships cannot be ignored in any understanding of place within society as it is behavioural interactions and expectations which determine the nature of each public place (Massey, 1994). This chapter, therefore, draws on the information presented in Chapters 5 and 6 to bring together these spatial and social influences by delving into the meanings behind street children's use of space.

As previously noted in Chapter 2, spaces have different place meanings for different groups in society and this is imperative in understanding how and why they use particular spaces the way they do (Matthews, 1992). Therefore, the first section in this chapter looks at street child niches from the perspective of the children, illuminating their sense of place and illustrating their perceptions of specific urban spaces. It is this which develops as the children interact with the environment and create a myriad of 'street childhoods' within the city. The second part of this chapter will examine the meaning of the spaces used by the children for survival within the cityscape. This is based on how street children interact with the diverse physical and social environments, the latter consisting of a variety of populations with different attitudes and feelings towards their presence. The result is a complex mix of spatial interactions with each place used holding different significance for the continued existence of street children on the city streets. The concluding section of this chapter then discusses and draws together the meanings behind the specific geographies of Kampala street children.

7.2 Understanding street children's perceptions and sense of place in the city

As Chapter 2 has demonstrated the street child population is situated outside the normal domains of the home and family, which in many African societies, including Uganda, is considered to be the 'correct' place for children with The Children Statute (1997:10) stating that 'a child has the right to live with his or her parents' (Swart-Kruger, 1996; The Children Statute, 1997). As street children have moved away from the parental home as discussed in Chapter 4, the result is that within Kampala the street child population is an eclectic mix of children from different ethnic groups and backgrounds. Before examining the niches they have created for themselves, it is interesting to determine their sense of place and how they perceive the urban environment in which they live.

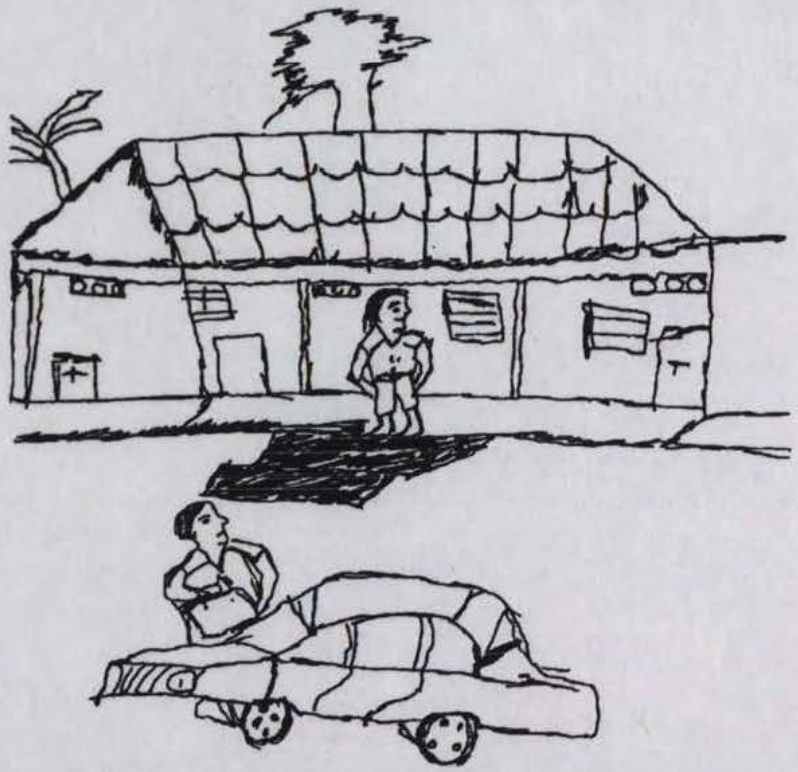
7.2.1 A sense of place

The 'out of placeness' of a child living in Kampala's urban environment has resulted in a cohesive street child community collectively identified by their appearance, attitudes and activities. Despite this cohesiveness, each child's individuality shines through in their personalities and characteristics. Although the majority of children are Baganda, from the rural areas surrounding Kampala (see Chapter 4), those who come from further afield are often identified within the community by their place of origin. The boys from Mbale in the east, tend to stay together and have often known each other as street children in Mbale town prior to travelling to the capital. Others are given nicknames identifying them by ethnic group. For example, one boy was named '*Jalo*' as he had come from the North; another, a Musoga from Jinja in the East, was called '*Mune*', the Busoga word for hello; and a child from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) was nicknamed '*Nyamulenge*' which means DRC rebel. Such associations suggest a sense of difference among the children identified by their place roots.

Street children have a dual image of 'home' which became visible through two separate drawing sessions relating to their life at home and their reasons for coming to the city. This is demonstrated by analysing L's story. When asked to draw the process behind leaving home L illustrates mistreatment by his uncle, his then legal guardian (displayed in Chapter 4, Figure 4.4). However, his perception of home is more akin to Beazley's (2000) romanticised images of home developed by Indonesian street children. L's image of home illustrates a happy childhood experience prior to living with his uncle (see Figure 7.1). Further, even although C mentions over work by his step-mother as his reason for leaving home, the romanticised image still remains. His picture (Figure 7.2)

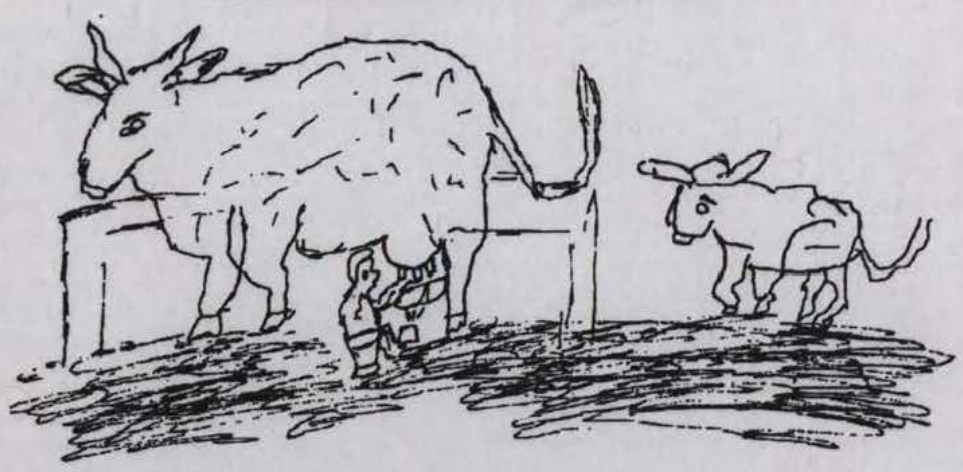
demonstrates that he also remembers enjoying working at home. Although these situations have inevitably changed, both L and C still remember their family lives and through their drawings display the desire to 'belong' to that particular place (Matthews, 1992).

Figure 7.1: Home life: L's story (aged 10)



"This is me welcoming my father. I am happy because my dad is coming back from work and he loves me very much. I like my house because its where I used to sleep."

Figure 7.2: Home life: C's story (aged 14)



"I am at home in the village milking the cow. I am doing this as I am the oldest boy at home. I was happy as I know how to milk cows and I love doing it."

It is not only ethnic, regional or home associations that invoke a sense of place in the children, the city itself conjures up particular images that contrast greatly to the rurality of the rest of Uganda. For street children, the city as place is at the forefront of their existence and is host to a plethora of feelings, emotions and activities which demonstrate the uniqueness of street living. Economic survival, in particular, is associated with city life as illustrated by the first statement in Box 7.1. This highlights the necessity for money to survive. Drugs and power struggles also featured heavily in statements associated with living in the city (see the second and third statements in Box 7.1). This demonstrates the danger associated with living in the city that is not accredited to rural areas. It is urban space which is often more associated with deviant activity and illegal behaviour as a greater number of people have different place attachments to a single space on which they exert different influences (see Chapter 2).

Box 7.1: Comments relating to city life

"There are those who work and others snatch. There is one that works carrying luggage and there is one who just wants to do a fix in the pocket [pick pocketing], every minute doing a fix in the pocket. That is city life my charlie [friend]."
"Muberamu bali nga akola nebuberamu oliye okwabula bykwabuzi. Waberawo oli yenga achaps neyetika nga emgaga newabera yo oliye bulikasera ayagala kuchima fix munsawo bubadakika fix munsawo. Yembera ya city mulana charlie wange." (FGD 3)

"Why do you use drugs?"
"Lwachi manwa ebitamiza?"
"It depends. When you are cold or when you have lots of thoughts you can take beer. Because when its raining sometimes you can't feel the rain when you have taken fuel even when its cold and you have too many thoughts and stuff."
"Kwegamba. Kisinzira nge olimumpewo ebirowoza nga ebwo nebikugula ko odira osobola okunywa nga ki beer. Kulwe 'nsonga nebweba enkuba elonya oyinza obuta giwalira nga omaza okunwya amafuta okwegamba kumpewo nebirala bingi." (FGD 1)

"What annoys you in town?"
"Biki ebibanyiza mu town?"
"The bad things that I have seen in the city is the people. Now like the police torture us a lot they beat us at night and some of us fall in things and these things brake our legs and others get injured."
"Ebibi byendabye mukibuza abaantu. Nga abo police batubabyabonya nyo batukuba ekiro emboko abamu netugwa mubintu abamu netugwa mubintu betumenyeka abamu netwugwako ebisago bya manyi."(FGD 2)

"I would say that the town is good but there are so many problems, some of our friends are shot with bullets and others are knocked by cars and most of the people in town don't like us they think we were not born by human beings so its not good to live in city life."
"Nandigambye nti ekibuga kisanyusa naya kiri mu obuzibu, bungi nyo banafe abamu bbakuba amasasi abalala emotoka zibakona ate nabantu asinga mukubuga tebatwagala kuba balawoza tetwazalibwa bantu era life yamukibuga sentufu kuberamu kubo toyina wobera." (FGD 6)

"There is nothing bad I see because we ran away from home and came in the city."
"Siyina byenolabawo kibi kubanga baluka ewabwe nebajja mu city." (FGD 2)

Although such quotes associate subcultural behaviours with the city, the children's understanding of the urban environment has a duality based on the excitement of city life that is not experienced in rural settings. Street children have a sense of the city as a place of excitement and trouble but they ultimately perceive street living in Kampala as superior to the home life they left behind. The final two extracts in Box 7.1 highlight this point and to further exemplify this, Mr. Andy Williams, Director of The Tigers Club, states that:

> " ...for the majority of kids, who've lived on the streets, and experienced Kampala there will always be the pull to come back to Kampala once they've experienced it. And a part of that is because the two Ugandas, Kampala and the rest of Uganda are just so different so once you've experienced Kampala the tendency will be to want to come back." (Mr. Andy Williams, Tigers Club, Interview, 1998)

For street children, the sense of the city as 'their place' is in direct contradiction to that of the formal home where children in Ugandan society are normally legitimised. The freedom and excitement of the city allows them to engage in a myriad of activities and to independently control their own lives. However, the rootless experience of being a street child in the city, constantly mobile and seeking out new ways of survival in both the social and spatial environments, is not problem free. The result is a duality in belonging, with street children having a sense of their place in Ugandan society as both the parental home and city street.

7.2.2 Place perceptions

Street children's perceptions of the city street are ultimately bound to the sense of place that is for them, Kampala. This is constructed from a series of important places located within the urban environment that hold particular significance for street life (see also Baker's (1998) work in Nepal and Beazley's (1997) work in Indonesia). These niches in the city are adapted by the children to become what Beazley (2000) terms 'sites of belonging', whereby the city becomes their home. The spatial location of these eclectic territories is identified by names given to them by the children. Depots are often named after nearby landmarks. The Miniprice and Fido Dido depots are so-called because of the large signs their respective shops have, which stand out from the street, creating an identity for the area, while Jambula is named after the tree that grows there. Figure 7.3 highlights the importance of creating a place identity around the depot. The advertisement boards on the rooftop area have been changed, in this image, to display the name of the depot. This illustrates the importance of creating a place identity with which street children can identify, particularly given the spatial temporality of street life discussed in Chapter 5.

Figure 7.3: Creating street child niches in the city

" This is the Miniprice depot. The street children are relaxing on the roof. It is their place." (J aged 17)

Although place names hold significance for the specific niches street children identify with, often these names have a deeper significance than just spatial location. Some names conjure up an identity commensurate with the image of street children's struggle to survive the city given their excluded position within the social and physical environments. Cambodia, for example, a place of refuge in Katwe, was established in response to the spatial exclusion of children from the Diamond Trust depot (FOCA assistant social worker, Interview, 1998). Its title, taken from a country ravaged by civil war and mass killings illustrates the struggle of a marginalised group. Another example of such association is the connection made between the tunnels of Beirut refugee camps and the safe haven of the underground water tunnels in the city used for, among other things, hiding from police or those that are the children's victims of crime. Such names are derived from the escapism the children get from watching action films in the video halls.

Each child's sense of the city is uniquely determined by their use of space. It is envisaged that as a child grows and develops such perceptions will increase in scope to include a greater variety of niches. This is similar to Matthews' (1986) perception of British children's geographical knowledge, and later taken up by Beazley (1997) with respect to Indonesian street children. As illustrated in Chapter 5, it was the adolescent children who tended to venture out of the city centre to suburban locations in search of work or to steal. It was also noted from the time lines produced, that adolescent children covered a greater spatial area and visited more street child niches than their pre-adolescent

counterparts. Figures 7.4 and 7.5 compare these movements respectively showing that the distance between places is larger in area for the older children. The survival strategies of the pre-adolescent child are based on a few key places where they can indulge in all types of activities, obtaining food, money and leisure. Such a widening perception of the city as a myriad of important places can also be determined from the maps drawn by the children whereby a greater spatial knowledge and use of the urban environment is noted to increase with age.

The spatial identity of each street child, however, has much closer associations with the importance they place on particular areas. The photo diaries illustrate this point as most children concentrate their pictures on a relatively small number of spatial niches. Miniprice and Kakuta feature most readily constituting almost 40 percent of the photographs and economic survival spaces were the subject of just over 25 percent of the explanations. The mental maps also centralised and focused on these key niches. R's map (Figure 7.6) not only has Owino Market placed firmly in the centre of the map but shows all routes that he takes as moving outwards from there. This is a clear illustration of the importance of Owino Market to R's identity and survival strategy and in fact R spends a lot of his time picking and selling vegetables in the market. B's map (Figure 7.7) also emphasises the importance of Owino Market but details the greater significance of Kakuta depot and Nakasero Market. Here the map was drawn from top to bottom beginning with Kakuta where B sleeps, and Nakasero where he regularly works off-loading in the early mornings. The focus of M's map (Figure 7.8) is again work related as he works casually as a taxi conductor on Burton Street at the Old Taxi Park. The importance placed on this area is great especially when compared to the relative space given to the New Taxi Park on the map, an area where M rarely works. It is interesting to note that few children mention anywhere in the up-town part of Kampala avoiding the wealthy commercial areas and financial centres. These maps show that each child has an individual geography that is bound to their identity on the streets based on the niches they frequent for survival.

Street children's perceptions and sense of place are firmly located within the cityscape. Having renounced attachment to the family home, they have created their own place identities within the city based on their social interactions and adaptation of spatial localities. Despite their temporality of use, these niches provide the otherwise transient and excluded identity of the street child subculture with their own place attachments. However, these geographies are created through the interaction of the social and the spatial, a combination of interactions outlined in Chapters 5 and 6. It is to understanding the reasons for such perceptions, and street child locations within the cityscape, that attention is now turned.

Figure 7.6: R's map of important places in Kampala (aged 12 years)

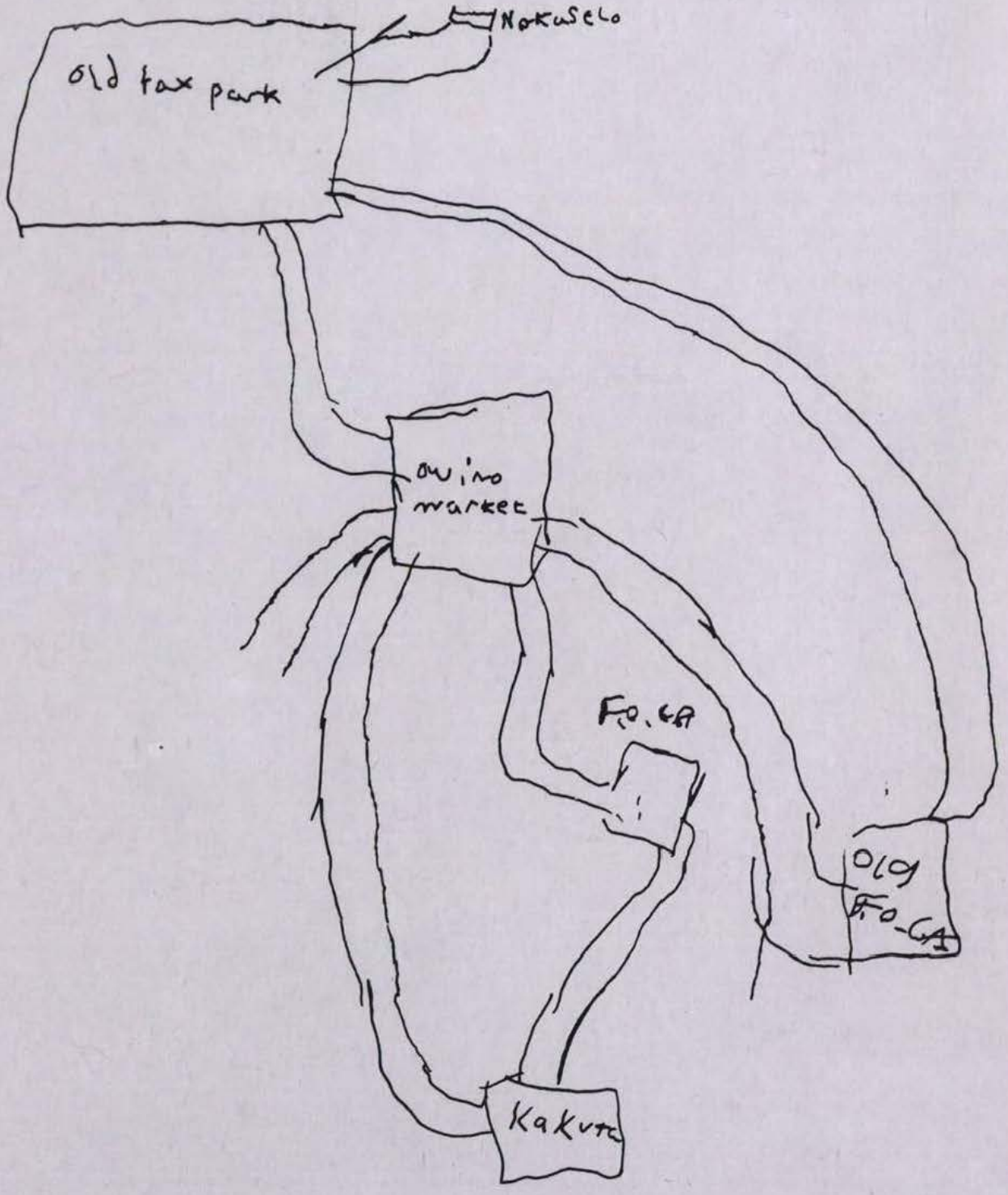


Figure 7.7: B's map of important places in Kampala (aged 15 years)

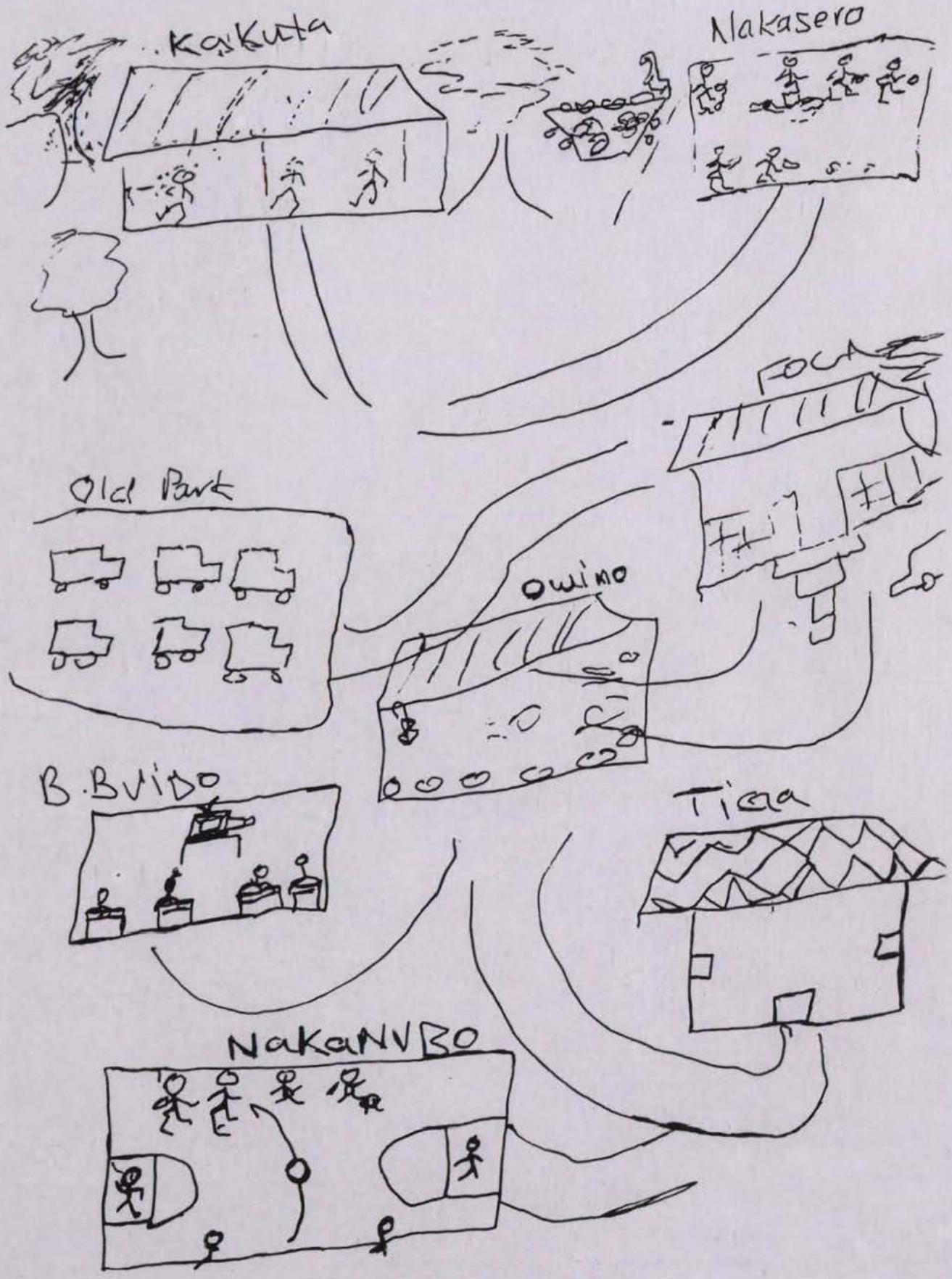
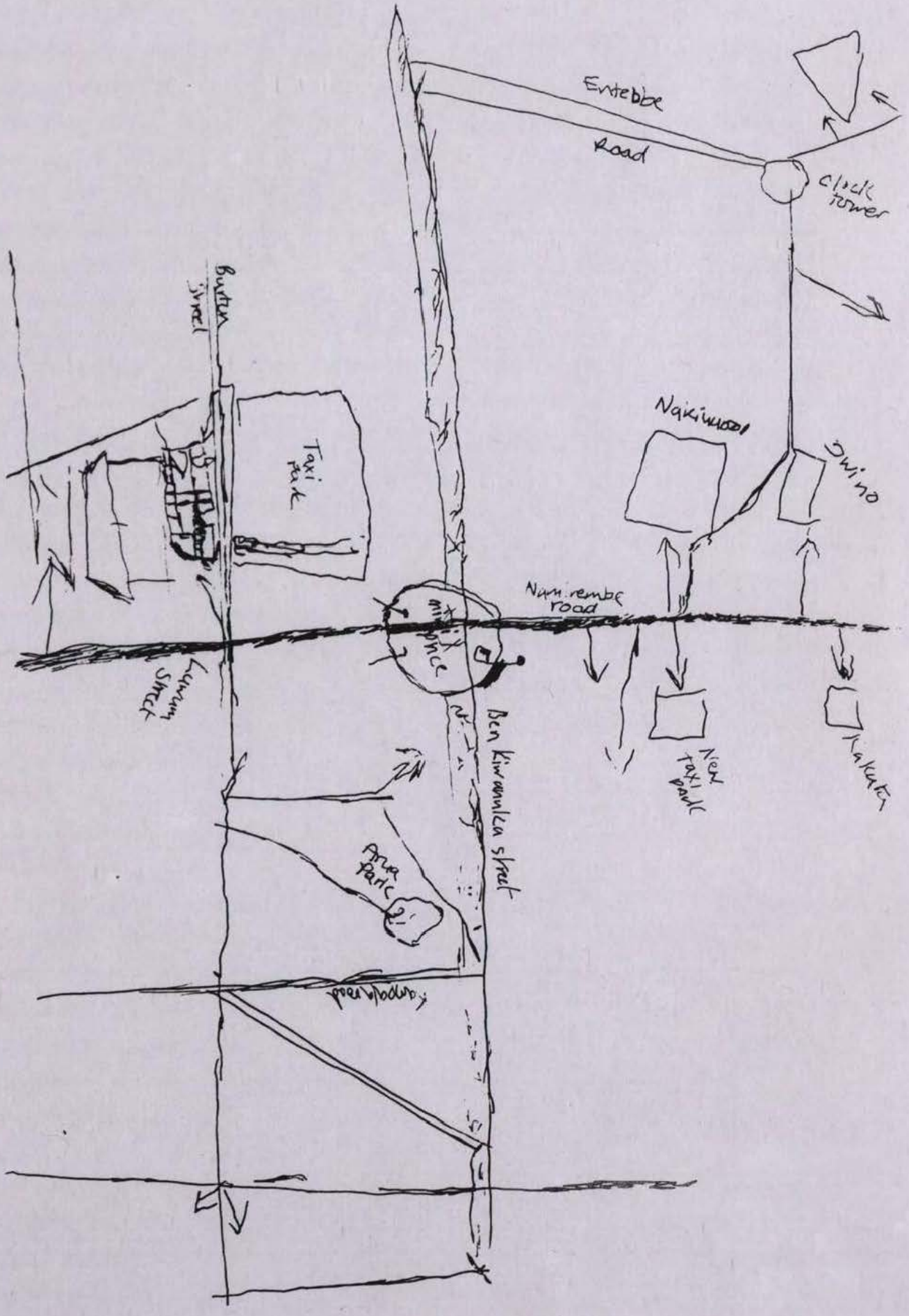


Figure 7.8: M's map of important places in Kampala (aged 17 years)



7.3 'In place' and 'out of place'

Kampala's street children developed a sense of the city which they perceive to be both exciting and dangerous based on their understanding and use of the urban topography. This is bound to the idea that children, particularly street children, are often viewed as 'out of place' in the urban domain (Conolly and Ennew, 1996). They are perceived as one of the most visible aspects of social degradation in the developing world and, even within the most diverse urban areas, their presence often results in political embarrassment and societal distaste. This theme has re-emerged in Chapter 6 where many of the groups expressed dislike for the street child population and their presence in the cityscape. The consequence of such abhorrence is their exclusion from, and marginalisation within, the city. This is akin to Philo's (2000) assertion that children and adults conflict over space.

The metropolitan based survival strategies of Kampala's street children conflicts with their 'out of placeness' and has resulted in the creation of street child niches emerging in marginal spaces and obligatory resistance to the contested central spaces of the urban landscape. However, as noted in the preceding chapter, street children are, in some instances, accepted by the 'street' because some of the activities they engage in enhance the functioning of the city. The aim, in this section, is to explore such domains and highlight the specific socio-spatial existence necessary for street child survival. This will be achieved by first examining the spatial marginalisation of street children before moving on to look at how they resist this position, becoming accepted into, and also antagonistic to, the dominant accepted behaviours of the 'street'.

7.3.1 Spatial marginalisation

In line with Sibley's (1995) notion of spatial exclusion, street children in Kampala are marginalised into negligible and obscure urban locations through antagonism with more dominant users of the cityscape. Their adaptation to this peripheralisation emphasises their position as an unwelcome, but somewhat reactionary, population as their dependency on urban society for survival has resulted in their refusal to leave the city and consequently develop a variety of exclusively street child niches. The friction that exists between street children and street users forces them to compromise their urban existence.

The removal of street children from certain locations is particularly pertinent to their marginalisation. The children themselves state that they are not allowed to frequent wealthy areas such as hotels and restaurants because it is off-putting to the customers. Furthermore, depots or other niches are sometimes abandoned because of the pressure

exerted on them by other street users, most notably the police and LDU. The result is street children's movement further down-town and towards the city centre slums of Kisenyi and Katwe, away from the financial, business and wealthy commercial sectors of the city. The research diary extract in Box 7.2 highlights a discussion with FOCA social workers during nightwork. The main focus of this extract is the increasing marginalisation of street children within Kampala; demonstrating how they have become more marginalised and localised as the city has developed. As a relatively small and expanding urban area, Kampala is constantly changing and acquiring better security, communications and services which has subsequently resulted in the desired removal of overt signs of poverty.

Box 7.2: Invisible children: hiding poverty on the streets

"Next we walked to the National Theatre where there used to be a depot but this area has recently been developed in that it has security, street lights and new shops with paved roads. The street kids who used to congregate around this depot have now been forced further down De Winton Road as this is darker and has more places to hide from the authorities around the skips and bus depot. Fred (social worker) pointed out that the children used to frequent some areas around the 'up-town' areas but have now been forced to move 'down-town' due to increased security and developments around the National Theatre and Sheraton Hotel. Franklin (social worker) added that 'the security at the Sheraton has caused them not really to be there now' ....Furthermore the street lights on De Winton Road has forced some to move into the golf course. They come here and mix with thieves who steal. It is too dangerous now to go there." (Research Diary, Thursday October 22nd, 1998)

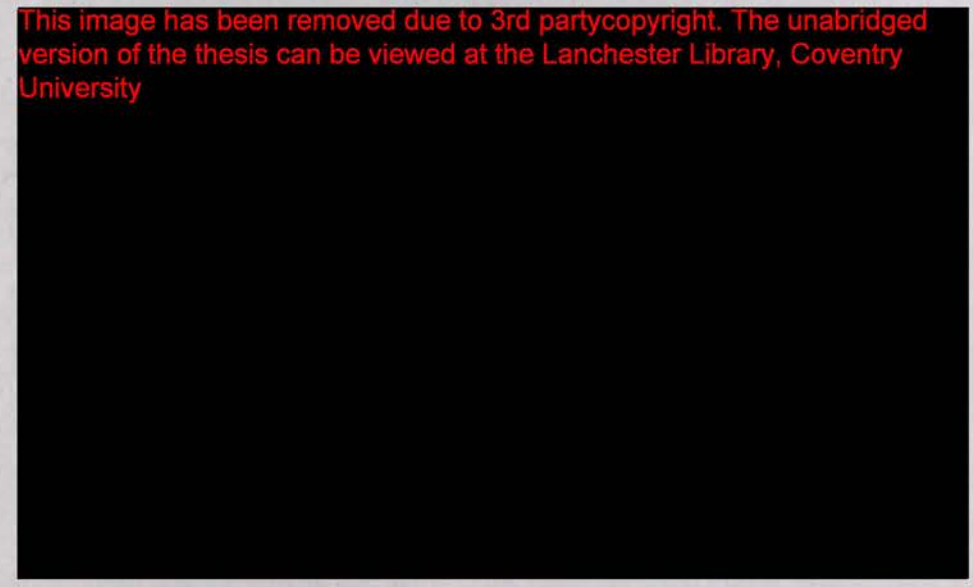
Having established street children's marginalisation in the city it is necessary to examine how they react to this exclusion spatially. The examples of 'untouchable' spaces, 'underground' spaces and 'rooftop' spaces highlight their local marginalisation in that it is not the periphery of the city that is taken over but the marginal niches of the urban environment which still allow centrality for survival. It is also through such examples that the child status of street children is revealed highlighting that they take over areas impossible or impractical for adults thus exerting children's influence on the social production of the peripheral urban landscape. The use of these spaces is varied and diverse although many provide opportunities to conduct private 'out of place' activities in the public arena such as washing, sleeping, eating, playing and drug consumption.

untouchable spaces

As noted in Chapter 5, much street child activity in Kampala centres around rubbish skips or 'untouchable' spaces (see Plate 7.1). These unsightly, filthy areas, accompanied by an unpleasant aroma, are avoided by the majority of street users as they offer no opportunity for the businessman or city shopper. Each skip, however, is uniquely serviced by street children based on its location, contents and environmental significance. At City Square,

the skip serves mainly as a resting and eating place due to its grassy environment and strategic location near to a variety of restaurants and hotels. The children who have claimed this niche know the exact times when leftovers are dumped and wait in anticipation of chicken, chips and other palatable delicacies. On arrival squabbles ensue as each child attempts to claim his morsel by fighting off both his peers and the city's other major scavengers, marabou storks. The Fido Dido skip on Kampala Road is more economically based as rubbish can be collected from the surrounding shops for a few shillings. Proximity to a number of fast food outlets, however, also means that a meal of chips can be scavenged. Moreover, skips form the hub of much depot activity providing shade from the hot sun and food during the day, and warmth at night as the contents are regularly burned by the City Council or the children themselves.

Plate 7.1: The skip as untouchable space



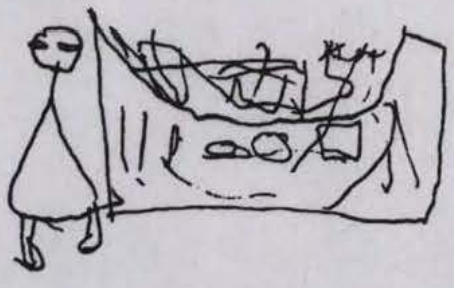
"This skip is our home and we eat food from here. These are my friends who I stay with, S and D. It is now later in the afternoon and we are still waiting for them to bring food here." (M aged 9)

Kakuta, although not a skip, must also be mentioned as an 'untouchable' space as it is located on a rubbish dump in Kisenyi. This undesirable area serves the local workshops as a rubbish site and is therefore well hidden from mainstream city activities. This has resulted in Kakuta being an ideal place for the older street child to live because it is located away from the gaze of police patrol officers and is therefore safe for the consumption of illegal substances. It is also an area unknown or avoided by other street users because of its main function as a rubbish place thereby emanating the same dirt and disgust as the city centre skips.

These examples demonstrate the marginalisation of street children because 'the skip' signifies an area of the street that is necessary but avoided in the sophisticated urban

environment. These 'untouchable' spaces are marginalised within the city because of their association with rubbish and disease. This makes the skip an ideal location for street children to exist because it is avoided and excluded from the spatial location of the majority of street users. However, it marginalises street children into dangerous living whereby disease can be caught from eating rotten food and scavenging for items to sell amongst the rubbish can result in injury and infection. Many of the children contract skin infections or have septic wounds because they are unable to keep them clean. Recently in Mbale town two street children became seriously ill after eating poisoned meat from refuse bins meant as bait to rid the town of rabid dogs and cats (The Monitor, April 4, 2000:5). Therefore, when asked to draw images of safe and dangerous places in the city, it is not surprising that the skip features as an ambiguous place. In one sense the marginality of skips provides the children with an undisturbed location where they are free from outside harassment. One child even highlighted the Miniprice skip as a safe place stating that: 'I like this place as it is where I work because I carry rubbish there' (I aged 15). However, the danger associated with skips is also apparent in the children's minds. When asked to draw pictures of dangerous places several children highlighted that skips are dangerous because 'you can get disease like cholera there' (A aged 10) and people 'put bad things in it' (S aged 11) as illustrated in Figure 7.9.

Figure 7.9: The skip as a dangerous place



" This is the skip at Miniprice. I don't like it as they put bad things in it and you can catch disease." (S aged 11)

underground spaces

When excluded from the private space by being homeless, and excluded from the public space because of undesirable and 'out of place' behaviour, many of the younger children have been forced to create an existence beneath the city in underground spaces in order to satisfy some of their basic needs. They do this by encroaching upon the water system that serves the city, colloquially known as Beirut. Those at Nakasero Market and '*gogolo*', the slope at Entebbe Road, are particularly useful for washing due to

continuous water flows. This allows a private activity to be conducted out of sight in an inherently public domain. Further, the tunnels also double up as a private play area where the children slide along letting the wet surfaces carry them. This is a place for escapism and play where the children cannot be touched by the 'outside' world. This use of public space for private activities can be likened to Smith and Barker's (2000b) work as they highlight how children create 'dens' turning the public realm into the private realm. These underground spaces however, are also used for illegal activities such as evading the police and avoiding ticket collectors for entry into Nakivubo Football Stadium. Economically these spaces are created as safe places after 'soft touching' or snatching a watch or necklace from unsuspecting passers-by and for this purpose the children periodically remove the concrete manhole covers for easier and quicker access.

The underground world that 'Beirut' gives to the street child population provides them with a place for a variety of activities. Despite this it further marginalises them within the city environment as they are forced to encroach upon this dangerous playground. The volume of water is often unknown and variable and is also host to rats and other vermin. The tunnels carry they city's waste water and therefore it can be dirty and disease ridden. For example, one child states that this is often the case at the tunnel positioned next to Nakasero Market and the reason why many of the older boys avoid this place. The children who play here are therefore at risk from contracting illnesses or hurting themselves in such a dark place. Despite this, the exclusionary nature of the urban environment for the out of place child has resulted in the resourceful use of underground spaces which are unclaimed by other social actors (Sibley, 1995).

rooftop spaces

As well as being marginalised underground, many children have moved upwards in order to secure their own place within the hostile environs of the city centre. The prime example of this is at the Miniprice depot where the children use the Old Taxi Park rooftop to escape the public gaze and therefore avoid confrontation with other social actors in the city (see Plate 7.2). Although centrally located in the busy down-town commercial sector of Kampala, the area has an air of notoriety about it as drug consumption and gambling are carried out there. However, the inaccessibility of the shop rooftop area somehow legitimises and obscures the street children's presence as it is only obtainable by scaling the wall. The result is a constant presence of large numbers of children living, socialising and functioning at an elevated position outside the reach of security forces and away from the unwelcoming public and distrustful gaze of the passer-by. By being removed from the street, although still exerting a visible presence, the street children are more

readily ignored and avoided by the rest of society, peripheralised rather than conflicting with the use of the street. This is akin to Matthews *et al.*, (2000b) image of a child in the street as a *flaneur*. Despite being highly visible their presence is viewed as unacceptable. Although located *in* the street they are not considered part of its social function.

Although the rooftop is well located out of reach of the rest of the street's activities allowing the street children to engage in illegal acts without fear, they are seen to be marginalised within the urban environment because of the difficulties associated with adequately utilising this space. Washing is made difficult, as water has to be transported on to the rooftop; and cooking is impossible. Shade is also minimal on the roof so at the height of day the children have to risk moving off the roof for a time. Furthermore, the safety of the children is also compromised on the rooftop, particularly if they have been consuming fuel or marijuana as they are more likely to fall. However, the adventurous spirit and ability of children to scale the wall and seek out a place on the roof makes this an inherently street child space located outside the domain of adult existence.

Plate 7.2: The rooftop as marginalised space

" This is on top of Miniprice. On the right there were some boys who were washing. On the left there was a group of boys who were eating leftovers they had collected from a hotel at Katimba." (H aged 11)

concluding marginalised spaces

Negative relationships, as highlighted in Chapter 6, between street children and other street users has resulted in the children assuming a marginalised position within the urban environment. The illegality of many of their activities has forced them to retreat on to rooftops and underground for fear of arrest and to continue with their activities undisturbed. The distaste society has generated for children living and surviving outside

the 'normal' domain has resulted in the street being considered as the 'wrong' place for street children to exist. Therefore untouchable spaces, underground spaces and rooftop spaces, located on the margins of city living, have been utilised by the street children to enable them to continue existing. Their poverty and appearance has resulted in some being unable to eat within the limits set out by Kampala society and instead to forage in the rubbish for food resulting in their marginalisation within the city. Figure 7.10 has combined these sites of marginalisation illustrating that they are mostly located in down-town spaces. However, the marginality of these spaces is not hidden within the cityscape and in fact many marginal spaces are located on major streets. This demonstrates that street children are seeking out specific localities, within an inherently hostile environment, that they can adapt to their individual needs. This section has demonstrated that children are not only ingenious in 'colonising small spaces' (Ward, 1978) but that they are also particularly adept at utilising opportunity-poor environments to create their own informal sites (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000).

The street children themselves, have developed a sense of their marginalised position in the spaces they occupy in the city. Although they perceive such spaces as difficult places to live in or difficult to access, they have become safe havens for the children because of their exclusion from mainstream city life. The danger associated with surviving in such marginal niches has been traded-off against the benefits; such as a source of sustenance, fun or the hub of economic survival.

7.3.2 Spatial resistance

Marginalisation is only one side of the street children's socio-spatial interaction with Kampala's urban environment. As Chapters 5 and 6 have shown, much of their survival is bound up with the functioning of the city as they depend on 'street activities' such as picking vegetables in the markets as they 'fall' from the trucks, snatching under the anonymity of a crowded area, begging from passers-by and the many shops and restaurants in the city, and dominating street child niches in the city by reducing their appeal to other street users. For survival, it is necessary for street children to contradict their excluded 'out of place' image and exert an influence on the urban milieu.

Their resistance is noted through encroachment into crowded public areas and under the cover of darkness when the dominant commercial and business functions of the city have become dormant in line with the arguments of Pile and Keith (1997) and Cresswell (1996). Under such conditions a street child is able to successfully resist his or her peripheral position and influence the urban landscape both socially and spatially. Both these elements of resistance have been exemplified to show how street children

gradually becoming a part of the urban fabric by refusing to comply and continuing to thrive in the city centre. The resistance is created because of antagonistic relationships with other members of the street based on different ideals of city life highlighting street children as social actors in their own right. As illustrated in Chapter 6, illegal activity creates relationships based on antagonism with the public and other workers in the city because they are targeted as victims. Engagement in such activities also creates conflict with law enforcement officers who strive to keep law and order in the city and protect the public. Therefore street children have to resist such ideals for survival in the city. There are two types of resistance that result in street children influencing the street, they are antagonised resistance and dominant resistance.

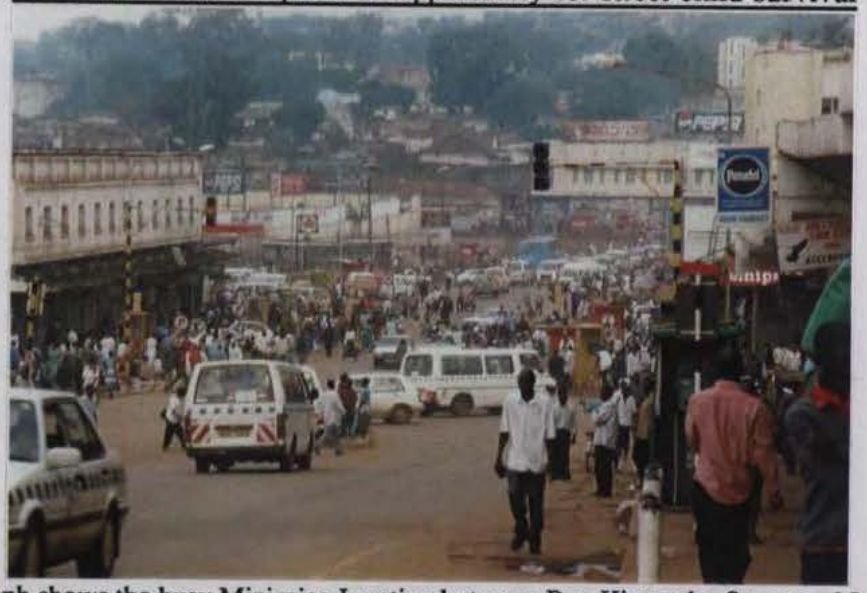
antagonised space: crowded spaces

Chapter 5 illustrated that street child survival is dependant upon metropolitan activity with busy streets providing numerous opportunities to make money (Plate 7.3). During the day and evening such crowded spaces are awash with children begging and stealing. At *kubitala* (the Miniprice traffic lights), several small boys can be observed clutching dirty cloths darting in between cars and taxis as congestion brings the traffic to a halt. Cloths are ferociously rubbed across windscreens smearing dirt and reducing visibility. Before the drivers have time to close their windows, hands are thrust inside accompanied by pleas for money or soap. Congestion also hits the traffic lights where Kampala Road joins Jinja Road; and when they are broken there is greater scope for begging. This type of begging activity often antagonises other street users because the children are very persistent and when stopped at traffic lights the drivers cannot move away. They have employed strategies such as ignoring the children or locking their cars because they are afraid the children will try to steal from them. Drug use adds further antagonism to the presence of street children on the urban landscape because of the behavioural influence it has over them. When they are participating in the use of illicit substances they are more likely to react in an abusive manner and conduct themselves disruptively. This is one reason why people are not always very sympathetic to their plight.

It is stealing, however, that Chapter 6 has highlighted as the most antagonistic activity of street children because this type of survival is dependant on the invasion of personal space and property. Watches, necklaces and other goods snatched can be sold, while money acquired through pick pocketing can easily satisfy the daily needs of a street child. This means that street children deliberately move into crowded areas where there are opportunities for snatching and pick pocketing and conflict with those who are, or have potential to be, their victims. Crowds not only provide great potential for stealing but also provide essential anonymity for escape. It is easy to 'become lost' among the people in a busy street or to hide in a skip or Beirut. As noted in Chapter 6, a substantial majority of people change their behaviour or avoid street child places because of this fear of being

robbed or abused. The result is an antagonistic existence on the street whereby the public fear the children and the children fear being reprimanded or 'arrested' by the police.

Plate 7.3: Crowded space: an opportunity for street child survival



This photograph shows the busy Minirpice Junction between Ben Kiwanuka Street and Luwum Street at the corner of the Old Taxi Park. Some street children are begging at the cross-roads. (Source: Author)

By encroaching into crowded spaces and conducting behaviours that are in contradiction to the dominant behaviours of the commercial functions of the street, each street child exerts his or her own influence on the urban landscape by resisting their marginalised and excluded position. Here they can be seen as essential social actors by taking control of their own survival. However, the street is not dominated by street children in this instance as the majority of street users continue to conduct their daily business. The result is an antagonistic use of the urban locality.

dominant space: night spaces

In line with Cresswell's (1996) argument that deviant or 'out of place' populations exert an influence on the cityscape after dark, Kampala's street children also renounce their marginalised and antagonistic positions at night by dominating particular spaces. At the Miniprice depot, for example, when night falls, children come down from the rooftop area and take over the streets below. At this time they can engage in pick pocketing, shielded by the anonymity of the dark and powered by sheer numbers asserting the space as their own. Their presence not only dominates the street physically but also visually by setting the rubbish skips ablaze to generate warmth. The flames from these fires subtly illuminate drug transactions and intoxicated behaviour. To the passer-by this creates a dangerous image, one which many try to avoid. This domination is further legitimised by the reactions of the public who fearfully avoid the area (Box 7.3). This is in line with

Sharp *et al's* (2000) assertion that resistance empowers, suggesting that street children dominate parts of the city at night because they are empowered by their resistant acts.

Box 7.3: Street child resistance

"I especially avoid areas where they are at night, like on Luwum Street because they steal your things." (Interview, male, 40-59)

"At night I avoid the down-town area because after taking drugs they are bad." (Interview, male, 18-29)

"....especially at the Old Taxi Park garbage dump [Miniprice] at night. They tend to be violent at night." (Interview, female, 30-39)

Other places are also encroached upon at night such as Nakivubo Road (Plate 7.4), where daily trading restricts the presence of street children, or the Diamond Trust depot located just off Kampala Road, an area associated with wealth and affluence. The police presence reduces here once the commercial functions of the city cease to operate, resulting in the children who sniff fuel and sleep there to take over the street. The first extract in Box 7.4 illustrates how the spatial function of the city is controlled by groups who harbour preconceived notions of urban living. Once these regular legitimate functions cease the marginalised 'out of place' child can enter and dominate. The reduction in people using the streets at night means that children are able to dominate. This evokes fear into the minds of the public resulting in their avoidance of street child niches (see the second extract in Box 7.4). This results in certain spaces becoming street child places, as they are legitimised by the cover of darkness and dormant functions of the city.

Plate 7.4: Dominant space: two girls preparing to sleep on a busy day-time street

"We sleep at Nakivubo Road because we are not disturbed. We lie on the box on top of the ground. It is softer than the pavement to sleep on a box, it is like a mattress. It was 10.00pm and we were getting ready to sleep because all the shoppers had gone home. We had come from Miniprice where we get fuel to sniff and I met my boyfriend there". (S aged 14)

Box 7.4: Street children's dominance in the city

"The next place we walked to was the Diamond Trust depot which is centred on a skip located on Colville Street near to the Caltex petrol station. Franklin told me that they sleep at the rubbish tip here but, as with most of the places we visited tonight, it was too early for them to be around. She said that they have more than likely gone to hide in the video halls, or are still eating and pick pocketing. There was a man waiting to sell fuel to them. He had a large bottle and was waiting for the kids to filter back from their evening activities. Fred said that: 'all the time the children are getting harassed by the police so they are constantly in hiding. They get very little sleep as they can only go to the depots at 1.00am or 2.00am due to the police patrols and they have to get up very early as the patrols begin again.'" (Research Diary, Thursday October 22nd, 1998)

"As we walked along the road behind Owino Market [in Kisenyi] Abbey said that children from Kakuta sometimes hang there late at night waiting to steal from passers-by. They will go there after 11.00pm and, when it is really quiet, they might find someone who has bravely ventured out alone. Abbey continued saying: 'one night I was skating there late at night when it was quiet. There was a man dressed very smartly in a suit on his way home from somewhere. He had stopped at the *boda-boda*[52] place to watch me skate.... Then he saw some children coming towards him and realised that they were getting nearer to him and that they intended to harm or steal from him. The man got scared and began shouting at the *boda-boda* to take him home. However, he soon realised that they were gaining on him and that the *boda-boda* was pedalling too slowly for him to escape. He eventually fell off the bicycle and made his escape by running down the road'. This highlighted how the children manage to 'take over' parts of the city late at night...." (Research Diary, Thursday 22nd April, 1999)

concluding resisted spaces

The spatial resistance street children exert on the urban landscape occurs when they are considered to conflict with the image of the city as upheld by other users. This, as noted in Chapter 6, is generally the case when a street child engages him or herself in illegal and disruptive ventures such as stealing and begging. This is heightened when a child is intoxicated through drug abuse. Such behaviours are not in keeping with the cosmopolitan image of Kampala society although they are necessary for street child survival. Street children are aware of their resistance with society in that their greatest fear is being arrested or reprimanded by the police and LDU. Therefore they can only resist the dominant mode of social production in the city in certain spaces. They are more likely to be apprehended where there are a lot of police officers such as at police stations or near government offices. Other spaces are not so important to street children's survival and therefore they do not need to encroach onto the street because there are less opportunities for stealing or begging. For this reason the quieter up-town areas where offices and hotels are located are generally free from street child antagonism.

Therefore, as is shown in Figure 7.11 it is down-town streets where street child resistance can be noted. It is this resistance which makes them more visible in the urban landscape.

[52] *Boda-boda* is the Luganda term for local bicycle or motorcycle transport.

Antagonism highlights street children as transgressors in the city illuminating them as deviant (Cresswell, 1996). However, at night street children are able to stifle other identities and dominate the street (Pile, 1996). This allows them to influence the cityscape by visibly displaying a subcultural identity. This is in line with Matthews *et al.* (1998a, 1999b, 2000) work on British teenagers who view the street at night as 'their space' where they can begin to develop their own identities.

7.3.3 Spatial acceptance

Marginalisation and resistance suggest that there is always hostility between street children and the rest of Kampala society with one or other of these groups asserting an influence on the production of the street. However, it is not always the case that disharmony exists and, as Chapter 6 has demonstrated, positive relationships also develop between street children and other street users. Through a process of symbiosis street children help, and are helped by, many of those who use the urban environment.

Spatial acceptance of street children takes two forms. They co-exist harmoniously with others in particular spatial niches as they seek to engage in a similar activity and not to cause disruption. This is especially true for some leisure spaces where street children want to participate in public activities such as watching films in the local video halls or relaxing at City Square. Here they have to act in accordance with the rest of society so as not to be excluded. This is also true for their use of other spaces that are not overtly street child niches. For example, purchasing food at many of the informal hotels and in the markets requires a certain level of behaviour and cleanliness, while informal opportunities such as carrying luggage can only take place when both groups work together.

The other form of street child acceptance is when they become incorporated into a particular aspect of society and, for a time at least, can renounce their street child image. Children who work in the markets alongside other vendors become incorporated into market society. Incorporation is also the case for the older boys, when they gain some capital and begin to hawk on the streets or engage in some other small business activity. Often it is impossible to separate these boys out as street children.

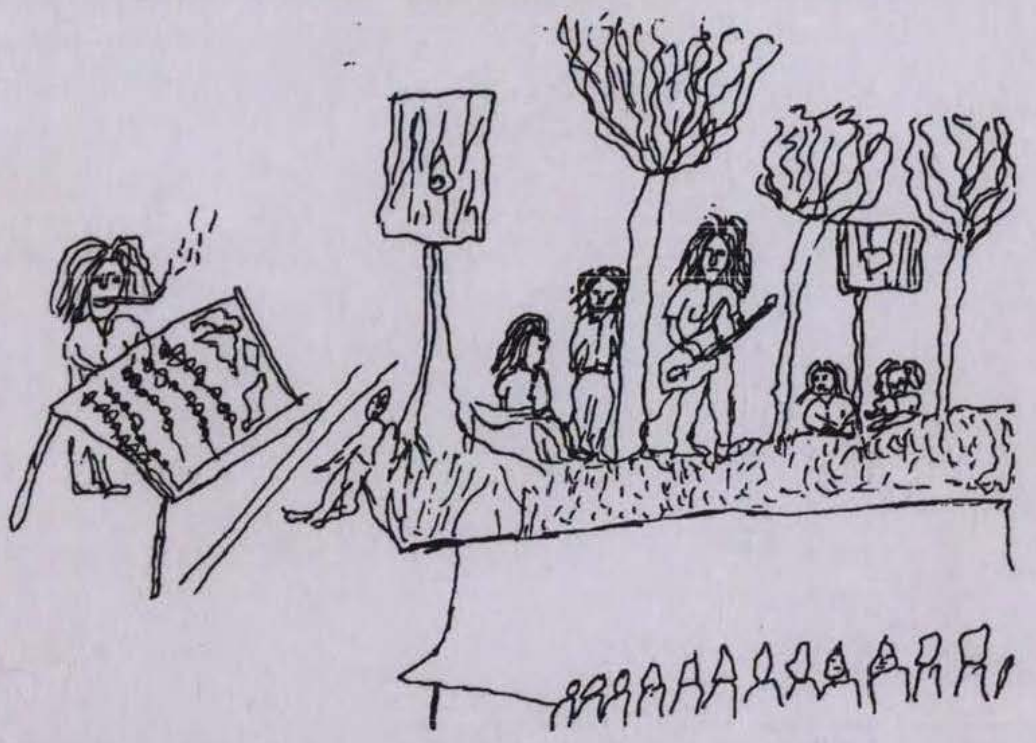
co-existence

As noted in Chapter 6, some street child leisure activities, such as video halls, occur within the public arena causing the children to interact with other members of society. Often the owners of such places are sympathetic to the plight of street children and help them out.

The children have to display certain behavioural characteristics in order to be allowed to enter: they have to be sober, polite and clean. This compromise exists because the children want to spend their time watching films and therefore will comply with the rules outlined by the owner. Once inside they watch with other members of the public, although sometimes they sit in a separate part of the video hall highlighting only partial acceptance.

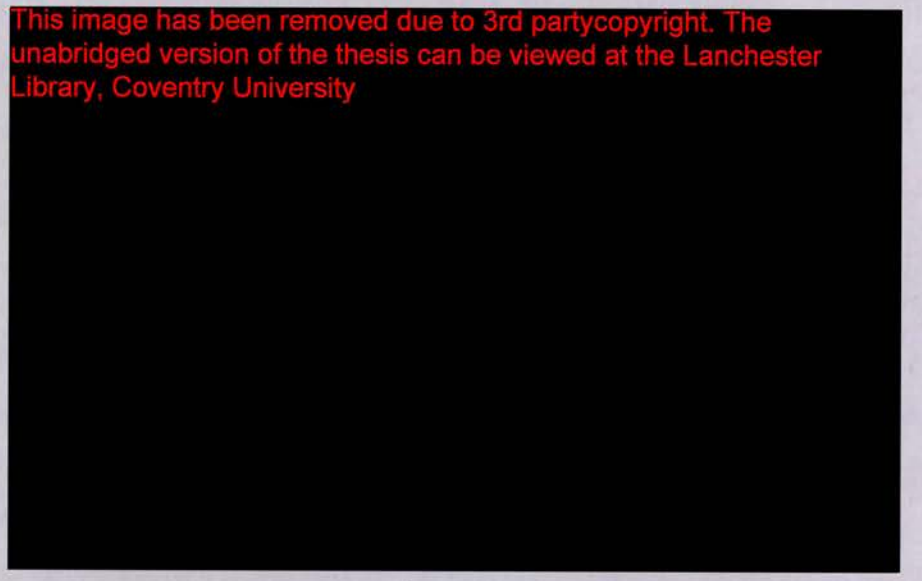
This is not the only example of street children co-existing with other street users during their leisure activities as their use of parks and open spaces such as City Square and Freedom Square also results in co-existence. Although many children frequent these areas to rest, they are easily identifiable by their appearance and often the younger ones are engaged in fuel inhalation. However, they do not attend the park for antagonistic activities like stealing and begging and often just relax or play games. This means that they use parkland simultaneously with other members of the public who come to rest. Figure 7.12 demonstrates street children enjoying a concert with other members of the public. However, it also illustrates the difference in behaviours between the two groups, with one street child begging cooked meat from a nearby food seller. Therefore, although the children are co-existing with members of the public they are still noted to be set apart.

Figure 7.12: Street children co-existing at a public gathering



"The Rasta's are singing about Bob Marley in a concert at Freedom Square. The street children and the other people are happy because they are listening to sweet voices. One street child is timing [waiting] the meat so that he can eat what has fallen down from where the man is roasting it." (BL aged 17)

Plate 7.5: Enjoying lunch at a Kisenyi 'hotel'



"This is where we eat our lunch near the video hall in Kisenyi. This lady is called Nalongo. She is our friend and doesn't charge much." (W aged 13)

Eating is another street child activity where co-existence is identified. Although they eat from the 'untouchable spaces' already identified, Chapter 5 has illustrated that many, particularly the older ones, purchase food in the markets and other local 'hotels'. To do this they have to interact with members of other street using groups and again conditions are sometimes placed on the children before they can eat. They often have to leave their fuel behind and wash-up before they are allowed to sit with the other customers. Plate 7.5 shows children conforming to the behavioural 'rules' of a local hotel in order to enjoy a plate of food.

The final type of co-existence that is worth highlighting here is regarding work activities. As previously noted, street children engage in informal jobs such as carrying luggage or taking rubbish to the skip. Such tasks are not really considered inside the realms of 'work' but are useful, legal activities from which street children can earn their survival and be legitimised on the street (Lucchini, 1996b). Furthermore these types of employment are beneficial to other street users and not antagonistic like begging or stealing. The result is a symbiotic relationship and co-existence on the street.

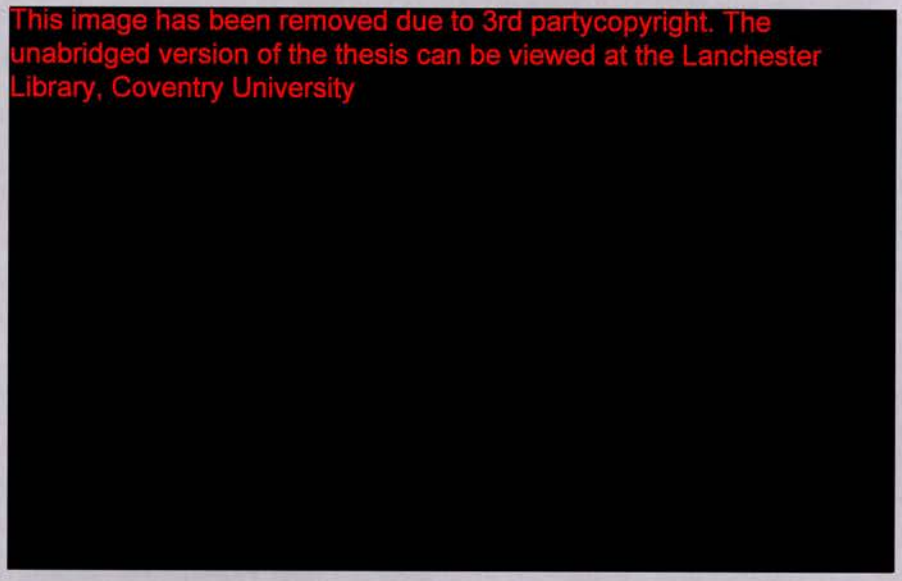
incorporation

Street children are not only accepted in the cityscape because they co-exist with society's norms, but in some cases, they become incorporated into society by the nature of their activities. This is particularly true of adolescents who develop a sense of responsibility and engage in legal work. In the evening it is normal that the down-town area becomes awash

with activity as numerous informal traders flood onto the streets. Many people engage in this work, unregulated, including some of the older street children. They dress smartly and blend into the mass of hawkers and traders. It is not possible to identify them as street children as they have become completely immersed into the functioning of the street.

In the markets there is a similar incorporation of full-time street children into the workforce, regardless of their age. When they become informally employed, as many children are, they cannot be identified as different. They engage in a multiplicity of tasks such as taking rubbish, off-loading, washing plates, and selling many small items such as vegetables and plastic bags. These are not exclusively street child activities so the children work alongside others. Often employment is based on the familiarity of the workforce to the employer and, once the children are well-known and trusted, they are readily employed. Plate 7.6 illustrates street child incorporation among the traders in Owino Market. Incorporation is also the case in Nakasero Market where particular children are regularly employed to carry the purchases of customers. They have even been provided with uniforms and are therefore not separated out as street children (Interview, Nakasero Market Official, 1999).

Plate 7.6: Working in Owino Market



"This is me in Owino with the old lady who helps me. She helps me by giving me a job to help her sell her things." (M aged 14)

concluding accepted spaces

Acceptance takes two forms. In some instances street children have to renounce subcultural behaviours and work in harmony with society to be allowed to engage in a desired activity. In other cases they are driven by a money incentive to behave according

to the social rules that govern their working activity. Therefore, the 'working child' is viewed with much higher regard than the 'begging child' or the 'pick pocketing child', particularly as the former is less likely to be under the influence of intoxicants. This is in line with Lucchini's (1996b) argument that by engaging in work activities children's presence in the urban environment is legitimised. The contradiction here is that street children, although accepted in the city, may use the money they earn to purchase drugs, an excluded commodity, or return to the skip to eat and sleep.

The result is a complex street child existence made up of a variety of marginal, resisted and accepted spaces. Each activity depends on a series of spatial and social criteria which must be adhered to. Marginal spaces are hidden and therefore used for illegal or private activities. Resisted spaces are encroached upon in order for interaction with people who can provided necessities for basic survival, through work, begging or stealing. Finally, accepted spaces result in street children renouncing, or modifying their subculture in order to gain entry to leisure or work activities (see Figure 7.13 for the location of accepted spaces). They move between these spaces in order to create their own socio-spatial survival strategies. The place of street children in Kampala's urban environment is therefore made up of a plethora of social and spatial interactions which are temporal in nature.

7.3.4 The importance and significance of core places

Although there are several major niches used on a frequent basis there are two areas which seem to dominate the street children's urban landscape as core places (identified in the literature as 'centres of gravity' (Matthews, 1980) or 'pivotal' places (Beazley, 1997)). These are places with which children create attachments based on the importance they have for everyday life, spaces which are fixed in the urban landscape and substituted as 'home'. Miniprice and Kakuta are central to street life and are marked as important places on all the children's maps and time lines. They are 'safe havens' (Matthews and Airey, 1990) in the city where a street child niche is well established and rarely contested or disrupted as is the case in other spaces. The attachment the children afford to one or both of these places highlights their centrality in stabilising the emotional and psychological well-being of the children. Furthermore, their multi-functional use, mentioned throughout Chapter 5, stimulates social interaction, survival opportunities and basic needs among the occupants.

Miniprice is highlighted by all the children who participated in map-making sessions and daily time lines and the majority who undertook the photo diary exercise. Miniprice is the

most visible street child niche in the city and the place where children are most likely to make contact with other street children on arrival in the city centre, not least because it is located at the Old Taxi Park, the major transport station. Children arriving in the city from other areas or other parts of town are likely to arrive in the Old Taxi Park and first encounter street children at Miniprice. It is here that they learn 'how' to become street children and engage with others already well versed in coping with city life. As Chapter 5 highlights this place is important for all street child activities given its physical diversity and multi-functional use. The marginal rooftop is personal to the street child population and 'hidden' from the street thereby allowing private activities to take place such as washing, gambling and drug consumption. The skip is a source of employment, food and warmth for those who frequent the depot. Further, the central location, within a busy part of town, increases opportunities for begging and stealing thereby completing the full-circle of street child activities. The diversity this space awards street children in such an overtly public location, makes it an important place with which many children identify.

Kakuta is also a core street child place, although one more associated with adolescent street boys. It is the 'hidden' location which makes this space desirable and one in which the adolescent's identity as a street child is shaped. The older children need to escape from the city centre because of harassment and arrest by law enforcers, which is not always unfounded. The location of this depot within Kisenyi slum, not only makes it a useful place to hide but is ideally located next to several entertainment venues and food outlets. The space itself is also a useful place to sleep as waste from the nearby carpentry workshops can be used to build a fire to keep warm. For younger boys and girls, Kakuta is also a recognised outlet for drugs. Many of the adolescent boys will sell fuel from here because it is safer than going into town. Although fuel can be exchanged at night around most of the depots, it is not easy to sell in town during the day and therefore Kakuta is frequented daily by many children. The significance of the depot as a drug outlet further enhances its status as a core place.

These two niches in the city are particularly important for the street child population because they are static and unchanging and therefore provide them with a strong identity. Core places are necessary for the perpetuation of the street child population because they are meeting points for them which are exclusively street child spaces. This is particularly important given that their spatial existence, and therefore their social existence, is often in conflict with the rest of Kampala society. Their marginalisation, forced resistance and conditional acceptance on the city streets stifles 'street childhood' which can be more easily confirmed within these core places.

7.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the socio-spatial significance of the street child existence in Kampala city centre. The initial section examined this from a perceptual dimension and suggests that street children's sense of place is directly related to their environmental surroundings. They are located outside the family, home and local community which is often situated in a different cultural and lingual domain. The city is therefore a place of difference to street children in which they seek out an existence. They perceive Kampala dualistically, visualising it as a place which is both exciting and dangerous due to the conflicting nature of living on the street. Therefore they have a uniquely placed 'childhood' as they exist on the margins of adult and child worlds.

The chapter then went on to look more closely at street children's socio-spatial existence. Regarded as 'out of place' by society, they are noted to be immediately marginalised within the urban environment which results in a series of street child niches being created on the edge of Kampala's city centre spaces. Many of these niches are commensurate with activities normally confined to the private space so street children also have to undertake basic living requirements out of public view, in order to secure legitimisation. Although street children are not only marginalised in the city given that illegal activities are often dependant on the workings of urban life resistance to this marginalisation has developed. Both crowded spaces, where they antagonise the street, and night spaces, where they dominate the street, allow for the elusiveness of street life. Finally, the section discussed how street children are also accepted by the street under specific conditions or situations which depend on them renouncing their subcultural behaviours in order to fit into conventional society. The result is a trade-off between the street children and the social street. Therefore it is only in true street child niches that they can be free highlighting the significance and importance of core places. The place of street children in Kampala's urban environment is therefore one which is contested resulting in a multiplicity of street child niches being created that vary over both the spatial and temporal dimensions of the street.

8: Street children's 'life geographies': a micro/macro perspective

8.1 Introduction

The socio-spatial life of a Kampala street child has been highlighted in previous chapters to be a complex existence. Having examined these patterns through the process of becoming a street child, to a detailed description and analysis of the children's relationship to the urban environment, this chapter seeks to take a holistic view of street life from a wider geographical perspective. This will be achieved by looking at how different children cope with their public existence and identity as a street child throughout their time on the street. A topography of street life from inception to termination, will be developed by examining the changing spaces used and influences on street children's micro and macro geographies.

Initially, spaces of arrival will be discussed outlining contact points with other street children and the process of incorporation into street child subculture. The second section moves on to look at life on the streets from a micro-geographical perspective. Although the daily activities and spaces of Kampala's street children have already been illuminated, this discussion will focus on the temporality of the street and how it changes over time, stressing particularly how children's use of the cityscape is affected by influences outside their control and because of the power relations that exist on the street. Before drawing to a conclusion, the final section concentrates on macro geographies of street life examining how children move into and out of the street over the course of their lives. These macro changes incorporate how each child eventually leaves street childhood either as a street adult or by rejoining the community. This chapter presents an overview of Kampala street children's socio-spatial existence from a wider temporal and geographical perspective.

8.2 Establishing contacts: the newcomer's experience

Having established in Chapter 4 why children come to the streets and where they come from, this section looks at the socio-spatial geographies of arrival. When a child arrives in Kampala city centre, his or her use of the city is shaped by the attachments he or she makes to other street children and the means of survival they adopt. The physical 'place' of each street child is inherently bound to his or her social 'place' within the urban environment. Therefore, by looking at how a newcomer is subsumed into street life, a more detailed understanding of a street child's use of space can be identified.

Arriving in the city centre, a new and vibrant place for a child, is an exciting experience. However, his or her enthusiasm is coupled with apprehension once the search for survival begins and the child realises the dangers and difficulties associated with life on the streets. To survive as a lone child is not easy and initial contact with others is sought. The newcomer encounters the experienced street child through wandering the city streets, if he or she is not 'discovered' on immediate arrival at one of the major transport parks or markets in the city. The physical spaces occupied by newcomers are dependant on the children they encounter as this will initially determine which particular depot accepts them. This acceptance begins the shaping of the newcomer's identity as a street child. This identity is initially a spatial one as the group encountered is defined by their 'place of residence' within the city as Chapter 7 has illustrated. This provides the newcomer with a sense of belonging in a strange and often hostile environment.

Having developed an attachment to a physical space within the city, a street child's identity is also shaped by the process of finding a 'social place'. This often begins with a contradictory period of receiving friendship from the group, being subservient to the other members of the depot and suffering exploitation by these new found friends. This is a child's first experience of learning the workings of street life. Although accepted and welcomed by a group on arrival at the depot, and therefore included physically, they are still excluded socially until they have passed through a process of 'initiation' (see also Aptekar, 1988; Swift, 1991). Although accepted by the other children in the group, the newcomer is faced with divided loyalties whereby he or she is given food and shown a place to sleep which does not encroach upon the space of a child already well established at the depot. Despite this helpful advice, newcomers are not fully accepted as part of the group until they learn their 'place'. Often they are asked for money, or it is stolen from them while they are asleep along with their shoes and clothes. Beating is often frequent and the newcomer is quickly informed that physical strength is the key to leadership and power on the streets. Box 8.1 illuminates one child's entry to the spaces and places of street life.

Initial acceptance depends on the age and physical presence of each child. Often it is pre-adolescent children who are manipulated or forced to participate in undesirable activities in order to fit in. The extract in Box 8.2 shows how a younger child was controlled by the older boys on the street and used for his 'childish looks' to beg money. However, his acceptance into the group's social space was also controlled by their insistence on him participating in the activities of the group. He was forced to sniff fuel, steal and engage in abusive behaviour. If a newcomer is older or has greater physical strength, his or her

experience of being drawn into street life and culture can be different: less dominated or controlled. The extract in Box 8.3 illustrates how one child was feared by the children he encountered on the streets and was therefore not beaten or coerced into participating in street activities but instead was accepted as one of their leaders and protectors. The same is true for younger children who come with an adolescent sibling. They are protected by the older child and often allowed to join his group.

Box 8.1: Entry to the streets

SB, male, aged 17, Personal History Interview, 1999.

"I came to Kampala because there were men who take sugar cane to Kampala so I helped one man who brought [sugar] cane on a bicycle and I used to push it up the hills for him. I was ten years old when I came.... The first thing I did when I arrived in Kampala was 'carrying luggages' from the taxi parks and bus park. I was alone and had no friends. During the day I went to the golf course to sleep and at night it was time to dodge the police and if you were found sleeping they would just arrest you....

I met my friends because we found we were doing the same jobs carrying from lorries that came to the markets. When we realised this we connected. To be in the group you had to sniff by force and also they let me sit with them so that when I was asleep they could steal from me and take my money. If you had no money then they would chase you. Through this process you became their friends. I didn't like being in this group because they took your things but I stayed as they show you where to sleep."

Box 8.2: Initiation into the social street

WA, male, aged 22, Personal History Interview, 1999.

"When I was ten years old I stayed at UTC [Uganda Transport Corporation] bus park - but it's not there now. The boys I used to stay with had some old drums and they'd move in town singing for money. At first I used to go back to Mulago but after a while I began to stay in town with these boys, eating at the markets with them. I began to feel good because I was getting money and in Mulago I had no money. I slept and worked with this group, there were about five of us and they sniffed fuel so I had to start doing that too. They used to force me because they were older than me. To be in the group we had to obey the leader. If they told you to steal you had to steal, like snatching a watch or beating up someone by throwing stones at them or even abusing someone like a female."

Box 8.3: Joining the street as a leader

MS, male, aged 22, Personal History Interview, 1999.

"I was born in Masaka Road in Mpigi district. I had a good home and we lived with both my parents. We had a rich family and I went to school and studied up to P 7. I came to Kampala as a soldier when Museveni was capturing Kampala. I joined the army to help the people around me because Obote's army killed my father so they were my enemies. I told the rebels I wanted to join them to revenge my father. It wasn't bad in the army and the soldiers didn't mistreat me. My job was to guard the prisoners who were arrested - the villagers who ran out of their homes....

I didn't stay in the army for long because when they captured Kampala I was to guard Owino. Then we were supposed to go to a school in Mbarara for child soldiers but I didn't like it. I remembered that I saw some street kids while I was guarding the market so I stayed on the street with those children.... Because I was from the army my group feared me so I was never asked to do anything to join. The others were beaten and their money was taken and once they got used to you, you could be their friend."

The spaces of arrival on the street are therefore spaces of social and spatial integration and learning. Just as Hart (1979) sees public space as a means for children to develop independence and confidence, so the city street can be used for newcomers to develop and adopt the street child subculture. Although initially located on the margins of street child spaces, the streetwise child teaches the newcomer valuable lessons of survival in the city: how to eat, sleep and be careful of their possessions. Once such lessons have been learned the newcomer becomes accepted into the social arena of the street by joining a particular group, taking on the depot identity and adhering to the street child subculture. The newcomer gradually becomes involved in the group's activities and becomes familiar with street spaces; the places which are best for eating, washing and earning money.

Having accepted the identity of a street child, the newcomer quickly learns how to blend into the social margins of the city. Their spatial marginalisation is synonymous with their social marginalisation as they become subsumed in to the street child subculture. They develop a particular way of speaking by using colloquial language and slang terms (illustrated by the first three statements in Box 8.4). Their appearance also creates their street child identity as quotes four to six in Box 8.4 highlight. They react to, and resist, their social and spatial marginalisation by creating an identity that is contradictory to dominant cultural practices within the urban environment.

Box 8.4: Street child subculture

"[As a way to greet each other] for us we '*kubonga*' (touching fists to shake hands)."
"Ffe tukozesa kubonga." (Issues Discussion 4)

"You can tell somebody 'lets go and eat it' and the other one can't understand, so later he finds that his things are not there [they are stolen] even although he has heard you say 'lets eat it."
"Muyinza okugamba omuntu tugende tukalyewo oli tasobola kutugerea agenda ogira bwati nga ekintu kye mukijewo ate nga obweda owulila mugamba tukmye wo." (Issues Discussion 4)

"They can say 'bring *omulenga*', when they are going to steal from you because you don't know that *muenga* means a watch and that's why they change the language."
"Bayinza okugamba leta omulenga nga ate ons gwe bagenda okubba temanyi ntiomulenga kitegoza sawa kweku kyuba olwo olulimi." (Issues Discussion 4)

"A street kid is easily seen, you can even tell by the way he walks."
"Omulana owo ku street yetubula kiva neku ntamba azimbya nakafuba." (Issues Discussion 4)

"Dirtiness shows."
"Bukyafu bulaga." (Issues Discussion 4)

"The child can look like he is using something [like drugs]."
"Ayinza obatumulila nga muyina kyemukzesa yenga takikozesa." (Issues Discussion 4)

8.3 Factors influencing street children's micro geographies

As already discussed in the preceding chapters, the daily geographies of street children are a complex interaction of necessary survival and entertainment activities, coupled with their marginalisation within, and subsequent resistance to, the urban environment. Although this socio-spatial existence has already been examined, this section seeks to determine the effects of outside influences on the specific micro geographies that are created, and their ensuing diversification and change.

8.3.1 Social influences: the choice to conform?

As previously noted, the newcomer has to choose to accept the depot culture in order to be accepted. However, this is not necessarily a quick or easy process. Although concessions are made within the group, as the new child initially resists taking on a particular cultural attribute, the eventual outcome is conformity or separation from the group. For example, one child who did not want to sniff fuel, despite being in a group who used this as a coping mechanism, was bullied by his peers until he 'chose' to conform. First of all he was accepted into the group by his participation in other activities, such as begging from cars, sleeping and eating at the skip, watching videos and smoking marijuana. However, being the youngest in the group and the only one who refused to sniff fuel, he began to experience problems at night. The others would tease him, take his money and physically torment him. Over a period of six months he gradually moved away from the group and began sleeping on his own on a veranda on Channel Street, effectively distancing himself from the group. This change in spatial positioning was a physical resistance to conformity. However, not long after, he was back in the group and had begun to sniff fuel. The difficulties associated with the isolation and vulnerability of being alone on the street, had forced him to conform to taking fuel just to be accepted.

Others conform much more easily, until they are faced with a moral dilemma and then have to choose to remain or relinquish the depot. Again this is associated with spatial distancing from the group. Box 8.5 demonstrates how one child changed his associations on the street and became increasingly incorporated into illegal and dangerous social spaces. However, through one particular event, which involved him inflicting pain on the woman he was attempting to snatch from, caused him to move away from the moral dangers of the social spaces he was frequenting. By delving deeper into the narrative, it becomes apparent that survival dictated the necessity for this child to remain within an illegal domain as he changed his survival strategy from snatching to selling drugs, de-personalising the immorality of his activities. Through snatching, the 'victim' was unable

to make an informed decision about her involvement, which was enforced by the street child. However, by selling drugs to interested parties the morality of the activity was placed on to the recipient, thereby effectively removing the blame from the child.

Box 8.5: Moral dangers of the street

LA, male, aged 20, Personal History Interview, 1999.

"They [the group on William Street] taught me how to be a soft toucher [a pick pocket]. We had training for one week. Then we used to steal in the bus park. For the training we had a mouse trap and they would put a groundnut there. When they tell you to put two fingers and get the groundnut, if you manage without your fingers getting trapped you are a master. To steal what you do is go to the bus park and pretend to be entering as someone is coming out and you soft touch and steal their cash....

When I was 16 I left William Street and met another group that taught me to steal necklaces and watches. On Nkrumah Road there is the UCB [Uganda Commercial Bank]. We used to wait behind this and steal from women who came out of the bank. We called this 'Ladies First'. I met this group in Kisenyi near Kakuta where they sell brown sugar [heroin]. My friend who taught me to be a soft toucher moved to this group and he gave me a step up to being with them.....

When I was 19 I stopped taking drugs and started to sell drugs at the Caltex [petrol station] on Mengo Hill instead of snatching. One day I snatched a necklace from a woman and there was blood. She fell down bleeding so I ran away. I didn't like this and decided to leave snatching. The group used to then call me '*fallah*' meaning someone who is not sharp so I had to also leave the group. Now two of them are in prison for 20 years because they were stealing a necklace and the woman got cut and died."

8.3.2 The effects of illness

The socio-spatial presence of a street child is disrupted and affected by other outside factors. When a child is sick or injured his or her coping mechanisms change and the importance of particular spaces increases or decreases accordingly. When injuries occur through fighting, or if a child develops a fever or skin complaint such as scabies, they are not able to afford treatment and therefore they endure the pain or sickness until it 'goes away by itself'. A minor injury may result in a child changing minor aspects of his or her daily survival strategies. For example, PM (aged 14) avoided heavy off-loading because of a painful injury to his face. This resulted in a periodic change to his spatial movements in the city as off-loading at the market was substituted for different ways of making money. However, if the injury is serious, this is when a child becomes reliant on the group to provide food, and fuel or marijuana to stop the pain. Activity ceases and spatial importance centres mostly around the depot. This street child's daily geography is interrupted until the fever dies down or the wound heals.

For some, the onset of sickness is treated in a more proactive manner which again results in a change in their micro geographies. NGO centres offering medical treatment, such as FOCA and The Tigers Club, suddenly become important spatial niches and consequently,

a child's survival strategies and usual use of space is changed to compensate for the inclusion of visits to medical centres. Daily survival and entertainment strategies are missed in order to compensate for lengthy waits outside the doctor's surgery. Furthermore, washing niches change as children are forced to bathe at the clinic before the staff will examine them. Such visits can determine the topography of street children's spatial movements, changing and constricting their micro geographies.

8.3.3 Power relations....

....with law enforcers

Street child micro geographies are also affected through increased contact with law enforcers. This is particularly true for situations of insecurity in the city, as previous chapters have noted that this invokes fear into the public. In such instances the police engage in efforts to 'wade out criminals' from the main streets (Sunday Monitor, Nov. 22 1998:1). This was the case in November 1998 when the police and military forces embarked on a 'modern day' *panda gari*. Just after the incident, the New Vision (Nov. 25 1998:1) reported that just under 1,000 people were arrested, although fewer were detained, as suspected criminals without identity cards. Several children stated that they, or their friends, were also 'picked-up' although no documentary evidence suggests that children under 14 years were imprisoned (FOCA, 1999). This operation impacted upon the spatial presence of street children in the city centre changing their micro geographies. Many of the Miniprice children, who have been noted in Chapter 7 to be particularly visible on the streets, changed their spatial location and began hiding in the long grass at Jambula depot, a much more secluded street child niche (Mr. James Wangobo, FOCA, Interview, 1998). Other children state, in Box 8.6, that during security operations they leave the city centre for a few days or adopt a hiding space until the police presence on the streets reduces.

In the past similar events have occurred when important visitors came to the city. For example, when the President of the United States visited Uganda in March 1998, a 'round up' operation was put in place and many children were taken off the streets and handed over to NGOs. The result was a reduction in the number of street children in the city during this visit. However, the children soon flooded back to the streets in resistance to having been forcibly removed.

For children living on the streets, such 'clean-up' operations result in a change in their micro geographies. Street children will choose to locate in more marginal spaces or move

out of town altogether rather than be detained, bribed or taken to remand homes. In such situations the individuality of a street child comes to the forefront as each develops his or her own personal coping strategy. Some are able to return home or visit friends or relatives, while others choose to find a hiding place. Those who remain in the city ultimately embark on a different use of space, spending their days out of sight, in Beirut tunnels or at NGO centres. Then, under the cover of darkness, and often late at night, they will come back into town in search of food. Furthermore, if street children are targeted at a particular depot, they re-locate or move on, in order to elude security personnel. This is illustrated well by the following extract from one youth's recollection of street life:

> "We had no particular place and were always moving and changing place. Sometimes Luwum Street, Miniprice, William Street, Kampala Road or City Square. We kept moving from place to place as the police used to come and arrest children and take them to jail. They feared the children as people who steal and break shops so they had to arrest us." (SR, male, aged 17, Personal History Interview, 1999)

Box 8.6: Where children hide when there is trouble in town

"If it is worse some have to go back home."
"Singa gikawa abamu kibakilako okuda owabwo." (Issues Discussion 2)

"I can run in Beirut and in the evening come back and look for something to eat until it stops.
Nyinza oba nga nzilukila mu beyinti akawa ngozi nenkomawo nempejayo ekyokulya mpaka wekigwamu." (Issues Discussion 2)

"For me I leave town and go to FOCA and wash until it stops."
"Nze mva mukibuga nengenda ku FOCA nenjoza mpaka lwogigwawa." (Issues Discussion 2)

"I can go to the city outskirts like Katwe until the trouble stops.
"Mzimza okukawa ku mukibuga nenganda koebbali nga eKatwe mpaka emiwunyo nwegigwa." (Issues Discussion 2)

This illustrates how street children's marginalisation is enhanced by an increased police presence on the streets, forcing the children to retreat into even more hidden localities within the city. This increase in law enforcement in turn reduces street children's ability to dominate the cityscape after dark. Instead, they must use the darkness to hide in the streets in order to secure sustenance. This equates well to Cresswell's (1996) transgressors who only venture onto the cityscape at night.

....and between street children

The power relations that exist between pre-adolescent and adolescent children are also important for affecting their socio-spatial strategies. This is particularly important with regard to illegality on the streets. Often the older children employ younger ones to

participate in, or carry out, illegal acts. This is because the police cannot detain a child below the age of 12 years for committing a criminal offence, whereas adolescents would immediately be removed from the streets and imprisoned (The Children Statute, 1997). Although Box 8.7 illustrates many activities young children are drawn into as accomplices, the most notable must be house-breaking. Here the pre-adolescent child is used to climb through windows and steal property for the older ones who wait outside (FOCA social worker, Participant Observation, 1998). On one occasion the researcher met a small boy on his way to beg money. The left side of his face was very swollen and his lip cut. Two days previously this child had been 'hired' to enter a house for some older street youths. However, on entering through the window he disturbed the owner, who, realising that the boy was too young to be arrested, punished him personally by beating him.

Box 8.7: Pre-adolescent street children as criminal accomplices

"There are those who use children when they have gone to steal. He makes the child pass through the window and open the door and take what he wants."
"Waliyo abakozesa abaana nga agenze okuba nakayisa muddilisa nagula oliyi omukulu nojamubwoyagala." (Issues Discussion 3)

"There are those who are pick pocketers and he tells the child to knock someone so when he knocks him then he manages to steal from him."
"Mulimu abamu abakubi bendoli agamba omaloma nti oyo mukoneko kati bwa mukonako nasobola oliyawo mundego." (Issues Discussion 3)

"There are old ones who use the young ones for illegal activities like breaking or selling marijuana."
"Mulimu abakulu abaleozesa abaana ebintu ebikyamu ngo okumenya neboyi aba ntundira amakonko gange." (Issues Discussion 3)

"The older one can get metals when they are too heavy so you can make him carry it and give him 300/=."
"Omukulu ayinza okubera nabyama nga bizito kuba ogniza omwetizanomule kerayo nga ebisatu." (Issues Discussion 3)

Through these power relations on the street, the spatiality of the street child population is diversified. Adolescents are more likely to remain in 'hidden' spaces for fear of arrest, while using younger children to sell drugs to their friends on the streets, enter properties illegally, or even just to run errands. Power relations among the children further shape their social and spatial interactions. Often adolescent boys will affect the spatial sleeping patterns of the girls as they will move around to stay with their current boyfriends. Furthermore, the younger children, who are beaten and abused by their adolescent peers, will avoid staying at a particular depot. For example, Kakuta is an area reserved for adolescent boys and the younger ones cannot sleep there for fear of abuse. Even at the Miniprice depot in the city centre, a niche frequented by many younger children, the

power relations often affect street children's micro geographies causing some to sleep away from the depot at certain times.

During the fieldwork period a group broke away from the Miniprice depot and located themselves further along Luwum Street at another skip. Although still in close proximity to the Miniprice depot this group were adamant of their independence from Miniprice. Not only did they locate at a distance from the main depot, they created a new identity for themselves centred around their new depot '*Ngolongolo*' (meaning skips). By doing this these boys were able to reduce the harassment they were suffering from some other Miniprice children, but remain in close enough proximity to maintain the protection and anonymity of residing in a large group. This anecdote highlights how power relations on the street can force changes in street children's micro geographies by some of the boys relocating in this instance.

8.3.4 Influences in the physical environment

changes in access to important city spaces

Although street children make informed decisions which affect their individual socio-spatial presence, there are also outside influences that impinge upon their micro geographies in the cityscape. Throughout the period of fieldwork it was normal for many children to be working in Owino Market in the evenings. As highlighted in Chapter 5, at this time the market was less regulated and the children could sell their items between the hours of 6.00pm and 9.00pm without too much disturbance. However, their temporal use of space was affected in April 1999 when the market closed early at 7.00pm because of a spate of bombings in the city centre. The result was a greater concentration of children in video halls and more marginalised spaces, either to earn a living or to hide from police patrols, substantially affecting the micro geographies of many street children.

Changes in the layout of the city also impact upon street children's place in the city. The construction of new buildings, security lights and fences often changes a marginalised space, where street children can exist anonymously and without disruption, into a space where they become 'out of place'. The extract in Box 8.2 mentions how the 'place', which used to be the child in question's depot and therefore a significant street child space, is no longer a feature of the physical layout of the city. Increased security, a high perimeter fence and the changing function of the UTC bus park into an industrial area, effectively removed the street child presence because the environment became unsuitable for them. Similar changes in the environment occurred at the National Theatre where

increased security, street lights, new shops and pavements illuminated the presence of street children. This forced the group to move further down De Winton Road and into the golf course where it is darker and more inconspicuous (FOCA social worker, Participant Observation, 1998). Further, at Nkrumah depot the presence of 'authority' in the area forced the children to abandon their depot and move into Cambodia thereby adapting their spatial identity through changes in their micro geographies.

> "Nkrumah Road used to have a depot here where boys slept even with dogs but now they no longer come to this area. The new town clerk has established an aggressive programme. The roads have been tarmacked so now cars pass down roads that were previously not used and there are new shops in the area. The people passing don't want to see the children.... Again the street kids have been pushed down-town due to the presence of authority...." (Research Diary, Thursday October 22nd, 1998)

Over time the changing shape of the physical environment over-rules street children's adaptation of marginal spaces into exclusively street child places. Through the development and re-construction of the urban topography, street children become excluded from the spaces they have created as important places. Such changes in the wider society demonstrate the temporality of street life and attachments to physical places. Through developments in the urban landscape street children have to resourcefully adapt to changes in their micro geographies and therefore to new spatial survival niches in city.

seasonal diversity

Seasonal changes impact on the micro geographies of Kampala street children temporally. According to the children themselves, their daily survival strategies are affected most during the rainy seasons. Sleep spaces, are particularly affected by the heavy rains as children are more likely to disperse from the depot to look for dry places to rest. They tend to seek out shop verandas or find parked cars that they can crawl inside or underneath. The rains disrupt other aspects of street children's social life, particularly if it rains during the night and disrupts sleep patterns; then it becomes more important for the children to rest during the day or to sleep longer in the mornings. This may result in lost earnings from early morning activities such as sweeping shops, off-loading or selling in the markets and subsequently affect the rest of the children's daily activities.

Furthermore, when it is raining work-based activities also take on a different socio-spatial perspective. When it floods it is easier to collect scrap items to sell or vegetables from trucks as they get washed away in the torrents of water. It is also easier to steal because during the rains 'victims' are less likely to chase you. However, the disadvantage of seasonal differences is the attitude of the public to beggars. Everything stops in Kampala when it rains. People are less likely to wander amiably along the city streets and more

likely to stay indoors or take shelter from the rain. The result is a change in the types of survival opportunities available to street children. At such times children are more likely to be employed to run errands but less likely to survive from begging. Street children's use of space is therefore affected by the types of activities that become lucrative.

Seasonality, however, is not just affected by the weather, but in fact differs more significantly with public holidays. At Christmas-time the number and constitution of children on the streets changes. Some leave the streets and make a visit back to their parental village if they have relatives there with whom amicable relations exist. The number of part-timers, however, increases because school has finished and there are opportunities to earn money through employment or stealing. More children steal because of greater opportunities in the city centre as the number of shoppers increases. Moreover, the increased festivities mean that it is easy to steal from members of the public because they are more likely to go out to restaurants, bars and theatres while police presence is reduced during the holiday season. Similar changes occur at the festival of Id and on Independence Day, or when there is an important football match at Nakivubo Stadium. In the latter case, large crowds around the stadium make stealing easy or create opportunities for street children to sneak into the football match unnoticed.

8.3.5 Micro geographies concluded

Changes in street children's micro geographies exist both because of internal influences among the street child population and external influences in the physical environment. This range of factors affects individual children in a variety of ways at different times and life-stages. The result is a complex series of unique childhood experiences and individual 'street geographies'. Therefore the daily survival spaces of marginalisation, inclusion and resistance discussed in the preceding chapter, can only be a point from which each child creates his or her own street life experience.

This suggests that the socio-spatial existence of the street child population is fluid and constantly changing depending on the particular internal and external effects that are present. Street children have to be adaptable to the changing circumstances within the city on a day-to-day basis and are therefore in constant motion within the cityscape moving between the margins and acceptable spaces in order to perpetuate their own survival. Furthermore, alertness is necessary as the city itself changes and develops whereby the margins become incorporated into the acceptable city. The result is constantly moving margins to which street children must adapt and spatially re-locate. Given that 'the street child identity' is socio-spatial in nature, the population itself becomes fluid in that as

depots change and develop so too does the identity of the children. This supports the view, outlined previously, that children are important actors in shaping their lives and agrees with Ennew's (1996) assertion that street children do not fit into one single model.

By returning briefly to Chapter 7, the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment is an eclectic, ever changing, spatial existence. For this reason, it is not surprising that many children still maintain an attachment to their previous home environments, given that their niches within the city are not guaranteed. This further highlights the importance of Miniprice and Kakuta as core places in Kampala as the children are able to keep some form of attachment to these well established niches.

8.4 Factors influencing street children's macro geographies

Although there are many influences on street child geographies from a micro perspective, over time street life is a constantly changing experience for many children as they move between the city environment, the home and a host of other significant spaces. Street children's spatial use of the street is therefore influenced on a much wider scale.

During the process of growing up on the street, children's use of the urban environment is often temporal. This is not to be confused with part-time street children who come onto the streets at a specific time of day to work or play, but to include the sporadic nature of the full-time street child's existence over a much greater spatial arena. This section looks at how influences in the children's environment affect the way they leave the street periodically, or permanently, greatly influencing their socio-spatial existence.

8.4.1 Periodic removal from street life

There are various ways street children use the city streets periodically. Some of the methods of leaving are personal choices by individual children, while others are enforced by other social actors. Visits home will be examined first as these are instigated by street children, possibly to retain some form of attachment to a previous existence (Sibley, 1995). Following on from this, street children also choose to attend institutions, and this will be looked at regarding its effect on their macro geographies, particularly as their freedom of choice is debatable in some cases. Third, remand centres must be considered as a forced removal of street children from the streets and how this effects their place in the city, before finally discussing resettlement, which can either be periodic or permanent, in curtailing street children's use of the street.

visits home

As already noted, some children will return home out of choice, particularly during holidays. One evening, while on night work with FOCA staff, the researcher encountered two boys who wanted FOCA to give them some sugar so that they could take it back home to their mother for Christmas. Although they did not visit home regularly as their mother was too poor to support them all year round, at this important family-time they felt they would like to return to their village. This illustrates the attachments street children have to their families despite their understanding that living at home is no longer a viable option (see also Beazley, 2000; Hecht, 1999).

Although more part-timers come onto the streets during the school holidays, the reverse of this situation causes an effect in the socio-spatial geography of full-time street children. At the end of the holidays, when the school term begins, it becomes easier to spot those children who are not occupied in classes during the day. Therefore law enforcers become tough on street children, taking them to Kampala City Council or NGOs for resettlement. It was for this reason, and fear of arrest in Kampala, that one child decided to return to his home town of Mbale, although he still planned to stay on the streets rather than return to his parental home. The extract in Box 8.8 illustrates the macro geographical effect this has on a street child's spatial presence.

Box 8.8: Macro effects on street child geographies

"As he left another string of children passed by including one boy drinking some tea and munching on a bread roll. I immediately recognised him as the one who works with F, the small boy who had come with M the night before. When we asked him where F was, he said that he had gone to Mbale. I asked why and he said that because the schools go back on Monday they had heard that the police were going to start arresting those children who were not in school. F had saved his money and bought new clothes and boarded the bus to Mbale. I asked why did he choose Mbale and not somewhere nearer? The boy, whose name we didn't know, replied that there are a lot of coloured people (mixed race) in Mbale and as he was coloured maybe that's where he came from. I asked if F was going home but the boy said no he was going to be on the streets in Mbale." (Research Diary, Friday 5th February 1999)

attending institutions

As highlighted in Chapter 2, institutionalisation is one method of removing children from the streets which is highly practised. Although in Kampala, several of the NGOs do not adhere to this policy, there are some that do. The most well known example is Rev. Dr. Kefa Sempangi's Africa Foundation which offers schooling for street children and has been taking children from the streets since 1979 (Rev. Dr. Kefa Sempangi, Africa Foundation, Interview, 1999). Over the years, such organisations have influenced the

macro geographies of Kampala's street children by taking them from the city streets periodically, or in some cases permanently. This can be highlighted from the narrative contained in Box 8.9 which illustrates how children move into and out of the street through engagement with NGO schools or institutions. Through this approach the children are removed from the streets, and street subculture, and find their spatial freedom reduced as they engage with a new, more regulated, type of environment. Often such institutions are located away from the city centre, to make it more difficult for the children to return (Rev. Dr. Kefa Sempangi, Africa Foundation, Interview, 1999).

Box 8.9: Into and out of the street

WA, male, aged 22, Personal History Interview, 1999.

"After about a year or so [living on the streets] we met Kefa Sempangi and he took us to the Africa Foundation. When he met us at first I spoke better English because I had learned in the market in Kenya [where I grew up] so they spoke to me more. They used to come and talk to me in the street. They asked if I wanted to go to school so they took me to the school at Old Kampala. I lived in the school because they had a home near the Pride Theatre. I really liked this because we had beds. After about three years they took the school to Mukono so I went and lived there for about two years. Then I came back to study in Kampala. Sempangi rented a home for children and I stayed there and went to school in Kampala. This was in Kisenyi and my brother stayed there so I met him. My brother came to stay with me because he was in a group with bad people and was afraid. I wanted to hang with my brother so I lost interest in school. I was doing nothing and met a boy I used to sing with. I ended up leaving and going back to singing with him...."

Institutionalisation has a two-fold effect on the place of street children in the city. In some instances this is not easily recognised because children are taken to schools and care centres on an individual basis. Although 'hidden', the effect can be critical for children's lives. Some will leave the street permanently and others for long periods of time, as highlighted in Box 8.9. During this time the children become less exposed to street culture and often undertake schooling. However, at least some will eventually return to the street and use their experience in school to their advantage. The second effect is more dramatic and often occurs when children are removed by law enforcers *en masse*, or when a particular institution spends time recruiting children for their centre. The result is often a mass exodus of children from the city. This may only last for a few days before they become bored and disillusioned with their new 'residence', where the food is more traditional and their freedom is greatly reduced. Street children then trickle back into Kampala to once again exert their influence on the cityscape, both socially and spatially.

the effects of remand

Interaction with law enforcement personnel is particularly important for changing a street child's relationship to the cityscape. Although already illustrated with respect to street

child micro geographies, the effects of such interactions are often more dramatic, particularly for an adolescent street child. After committing a crime which may lead to arrest and imprisonment, the child in question will return to the margins of the city to hide. By locating in less obtrusive parts of the urban landscape, he or she attempts to elude the police. However, if the child is caught, the result may be removal from the street altogether and detainment in Naguru Remand Home or Luzira Prison, depending on his or her age and the severity of the crime committed. As the extract in Box 8.10 illustrates, children are constantly changing on the street and engaging temporally with the urban environment as they move between the street and remand centres.

Box 8.10: Illegal activity and removal from the city streets

"....Abbey agreed to find I on his way home from The Trumpet Centre Church tonight and give out the last camera... (Research Diary, Monday 21st March 1999)

....Today in the morning I met Abbey and some of the older boys.... Abbey said that he had been unable to find I last night. He told me that on the way to the tent at Mwanga II building, he had asked the boys from Kakuta where I had gone. They said that I had been arrested on Sunday and had been imprisoned in CPS [Central Police Station] ever since. They said that he had been taken for stealing a bag and that I had been arrested before because he was always stealing so they thought that this time he would go back to Luzira for a long time...."(Research Diary, Tuesday 22nd March 1999)

Once a child has been removed from the street it does not necessarily mean that he or she is separated from street culture and, in fact, can be drawn deeper into a marginal and hidden existence. The extract from one life history narrative displayed in Box 8.11, illustrates how spending time in Naguru Remand Home separate from the street, influenced the child to engage with a much greater level of deviancy once he was subsequently released. In such instances being removed from the street for a short time can increase acceptance of a life on the streets.

Box 8.11: Increasing street culture while removed from the spatial confines of the street

SB, male, aged 17, Personal History Interview, 1999.

"We used to sleep in a bush behind a large heap of rubbish which was like a mountain in Owino Market. I stayed 'carrying luggages' for a while but one day soldiers found us sleeping in Owino and arrested us and I was taken to Naguru Remand Home. When I was there I was about 14 and the boys told me that I should stop 'carrying luggages' and start stealing or snatching to get money. I stayed there for nine months but it was a very bad place. The children used to organise fighting and they would get into a circle and choose two of you and then you would fight and not stop, even if you were getting hurt. When I came out of Naguru I had nowhere to go so I went back to Owino and slept there. I met some boys there and we used to go to Queensway around the Clocktower [Junction] for snatching and at the traffic lights at Miniprice. I learned to do this in Naguru and we used to snatch chains. With another friend of mine we used to practice snatching chains from each other before we began. It was easy to sell what you stole because if someone sees you with a chain in the city they will ask you how much you will sell it for....."

The effects of remand are therefore multiple and contrasting. Not only does the removal of a child from the street affect the wider implications of an individual street life but often, rather than separate children from the street, it can draw them deeper into a deviant subculture through interactions with others in the remand home. Fear of being imprisoned, as a consequence of many activities associated with street survival, further affects street children's spatial presence as they increasingly locate in marginal spaces to avoid arrest.

resettlement

In contrast to institutionalisation, resettlement is a process which the major NGOs working with street children in Kampala advocate. Through a process of 'relationship-building' and attempting to understand the individual home situation of each child, social workers create an opportunity for them to return home, if they wish, and be reunited with their families and local communities. This process can be permanent or temporary, depending on each child's reason for going home and the reception they receive on arrival. However, in some instances the children exploit the NGOs using them as a method of 'adventure' or to visit friends and relatives at home when they have every intention of returning to Kampala. Often these children are spotted by social workers and other children back in town only a few days after their resettlement.

This is not to say that resettlement is unsuccessful as for some this will result in them finally leaving street life. For example, one 13 year old boy who had been living at Kakuta for three years and heavily engaged in fuel inhalation, was resettled during the fieldwork period. Despite his lifestyle in the city he wanted to return to his parents village in Mityana, a remote part of Uganda. Although the FOCA social worker felt that it may be difficult for him to settle, after three months he had still not returned to Kampala suggesting that he was really trying to make the transition back to village life.

Resettlement is affecting street children's macro geographies by increasing the turnover of children in the city centre. For individual children, this often results in greater social and spatial transition moving away from the freedom of the street to the confines of a home and village. Again this highlights the fluidity of the population as they are constantly changing over time and space on the street.

8.4.2 Leaving the street

Although street children move into and out of the cityscape during street life, there comes a point when each child remains on the street as an adult or makes the decision to leave. Those who grow old on the streets tend to be involved in drug abuse, alcoholism, prostitution or crime. Such adults appear to remain subsumed socially in the street child subculture, and often exist spatially in the margins of the urban landscape due to the nature of their activities. Others, however, create capital, often through crime, which enables them to move out of the depot and rent a room, effectively removing themselves, at least partially, from the physical 'street'. The quote below, taken from a life history narrative of one former street child highlights this method of 'leaving the street':

> "....I left the street three years ago because I snatched a lot of money and was able to rent a house but I soon got broke and the owner chased me away. I now sleep with some friends in a house so I'm still surviving but I could be chased any time...." (ASK, male, aged 20, Personal History Interview, 1999)

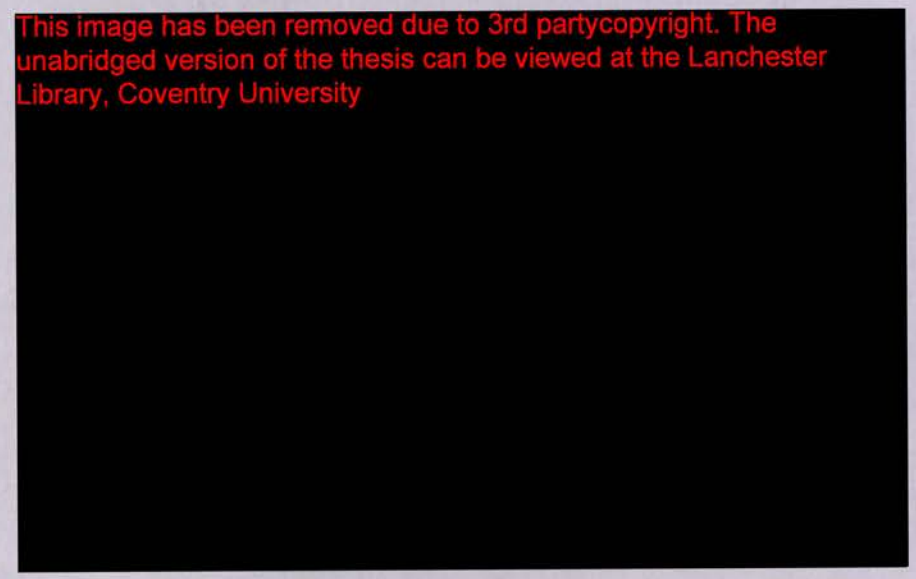
Those who make the decision to remove themselves from the street both culturally and physically, do so in a myriad of ways. As already noted, many of the options available for temporary respite from street life can also serve as a method of permanent change for street children. Although some children will return to their home village, and become accepted as part of the community again, for many this option is not a reality (Mr. Andy Williams, The Tigers Club, Interview, 1998). This is particularly the case if a child has grown up on the street and returns to a poor family with no means for supporting an extra child; especially if the child also lacks a means of self-support, such as the capital to establish a business. This results in many children unable to return to their family village.

Once a child has made the decision to actively change his or her life, they often receive some help and support from local organisations. Skills development is one aspect of NGO work which has enabled some of the adolescent children to learn a trade so that they can begin to earn a living and rent a room in Kampala. Traded skills such as hairdressing, carpentry, tailoring and bag-making are some of the popular crafts learned (Mr. El-Wambi, FOCA, Interview, 1999; Mr. Andy Williams, The Tigers Club, Interview, 1998). Plate 8.1 illustrates two young men engaged in a skills training bag-making workshop from which they hope to gain employment and subsequently leave their depot.

Although many of these young men and women still engage in a day-to-day survival strategy, while they actively seek ways of developing their talents and working honestly, success can be paramount. For example, several of the boys, mentioned throughout this chapter, who used to sing on the streets, have, through their own efforts and the help of

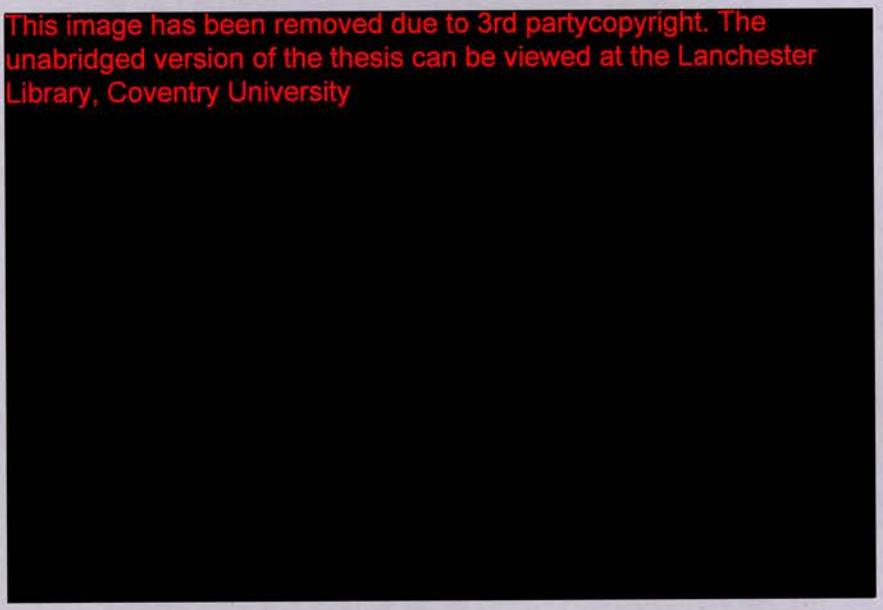
local NGOs, managed to establish a 'rock band' and now make a living through their music. Plate 8.2 illustrates the band playing at the National Theatre during a 'jam session' where they go to practice. Their determination and ability also gained them sponsorship from one of the local churches to undertake a one year music course and, more recently, two members have been selected to go to South Africa for further training.

Plate 8.1: Skills training: making bags in a Katwe workshop



"This is us making bags at the workshop in Katwe. We are learning to do this so that we can get a job when we finish training." (B aged 15)

Plate 8.2: 'Jamming' at the National Theatre



(Source: Abdul Swamad Kyandigah)

8.4.3 Macro geographies concluded

Street children's macro geographies are affected in two ways. These can be temporary changes in the status of a child or permanent removal from the cityscape altogether. While subsumed in the subculture of the street, the temporary changes are often enforced upon children, such as when they are imprisoned. The children also influence their own macro geographies through exploitation of NGO facilities in order to return home for short visits. The result is a constant movement of children into and out of the street. Street life, for some, is therefore not a permanent condition of their lives highlighting it's fluidity.

Permanent removal from street life seems to come from the children, although often the time between realising the desire to leave the street and creating the actual ability to do so, can be great. The examples illustrated here have shown that through determination this can be achieved suggesting that the public existence street children have on the cityscape is mostly temporary in nature. For others, the difficulties found on the street do not disappear when street life changes to community life although going back to the street is often not the answer.

> "Once I started to get enough money from my job I rented a small house in Kisenyi but have not got much work in the last two years. Now life has changed it's not as bad as it was when I was in the streets. I'm still fighting hard to get a job. I live in a room in Kisenyi and just do some small jobs in this area. When I think of my life on the street I think of it as a very bad life. People should fight to stop their children going there as it's a very bad place. I hope in the future to get a job." (ES, male, aged 21, Personal History Interview, 1999)

8.5 Mapping the influences on street child geographies

This chapter has examined the influences that affect the micro and macro geographies of the street child population in Kampala over the course of their lives. By looking at the wider influences, several factors have been noted to produce an effect. There are three types of influence on street child geographies that can be drawn out: those that exist at the level of the city centre; those that produce movements across the whole of Kampala district; and those that remove children from the city altogether.

Figure 8.1 illustrates these effects graphically, by illuminating how street children's spatial existence changes over time. Movements within the city centre, principally micro geographies, are illustrated on the map to show how children's spatial existence can be changed due to internal and external effects. Day-to-day survival strategies are upset by a plethora of micro impacts. When children suffer from illness they are more likely to stay

around the depot, with a possible visit to a health clinic, reducing their movement within the city. Furthermore, seasonality, issues of insecurity and power relations within the street child population, can enforce a particular spatial relocation within the city. As the street children create their identity from the spaces in which they locate, such changes must ultimately impact upon their social life affecting their sense of belonging to a particular place. This movement provides an explanation for street children's attachment to the parental home, a fixed entity as discussed earlier. Therefore, over micro spaces and times in a street child's existence, daily changes occur as a result of outside influences. This equates well to Holloway and Valentine's (2000) assertion that although children's agency must be recognised, their lives are ultimately impacted upon by independent forces, within the social and physical environments in which they are located.

Street children's macro geographies are also illustrated by Figure 8.1 demonstrating the fluidity of life on the street. The influences, both external and internal, which affect street children's macro geographies result in two types of spatial re-location: those which result in movement across the city and those which remove children from urban public space. This 'removal', however, may be social rather than physical as children often detach themselves from street life while still physically residing in the city.

Street children's life geographies are influenced over greater temporal periods as changes in society cause them to move out of the city centre and seek out more marginal locations. This is particularly the case when there is trouble in town. Further, as the children grow and develop, the coping strategies employed have to be adapted in accordance with wider social structures. Illegal activity for older children must be more 'hidden' given the greater penalties that exist. When enforced, this effectively removes children from street life to remand centres or prison. Others make informed decisions to enter legal training workshops or attend institutions, in order to create their own means of social support. It is these latter changes in street children's life geographies which begin the process of social removal from the street, although they often choose to remain physically within the city.

Figure 8.1 demonstrates that the daily geographies created by street children, outlined in preceding chapters, are not rigid. Although each child's choice of activity space and attachments to particular places in Kampala, are individual informed choices based on a plethora of environmental and social factors, these locations are further impacted upon by much greater temporal changes both within a child's personal decisions and structures within the wider environment. Therefore, street life is a complex interaction of social,

spatial and environmental influences which impinge upon street children's survival strategies within Kampala and wider Ugandan society.

8.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has developed the discussion on the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment by examining wider influences in social society and the environment over the whole process of street life. The chapter looked at this from two perspectives: the micro perspective, examining changes in the day-to-day influence's on street life; and the macro perspective, detailing movements between street life and other survival spaces across street children's life.

Beginning with an examination of the newcomers adaptation to street life through a plethora of social and spatial experiences, this chapter has elucidated spaces of acceptance and conformity to the street child subculture. This highlighted that although street children, like all children, are independent social actors, their survival strategies employed in the city are often influenced by the wider street child subculture that contradicts accepted city behaviours.

Influences on children's micro geographies were looked at first considering how illness, seasonality, insecurity and power relations can cause a child to make the decision to disrupt his or her normal daily activities. This illustrated that street life was not a fixed socio-spatial process and was constantly changing as the children made daily decisions to exert their own individual choices on their survival strategies and that these decisions are constantly changing with respect to influences in the wider environment.

Over a much greater time scale, this can be noted to influence how a child moves between the street and other aspects of society. These are the influences which affect children's macro geographies and life decisions. These were noted at the beginning of the chapter to be influences which draw children into street life and subculture as they arrive in the city and, at the end of the chapter, how they take the decision to leave the streets altogether. This chapter then concluded by demonstrating that although street children experience similar socio-spatial marginalisations, exclusions, acceptance and resistance during their street life, ultimately each child's experience is individual based on the choices they make over time and space. Street life is therefore a fluid socio-spatial experience.

9: Concluding Kampala street child geographies

9.1 Introduction

Survival in the city has been demonstrated throughout this thesis to be a complex inter-relation between the social and spatial aspects of street children's lifeworlds. This chapter seeks to draw together the main findings of this research in order to discuss the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment. The first section will provide a summary of the outcomes of the thesis in relation to the original aims, positioned within the conceptualisation of street child geographies. The chapter then examines the research process, discussing the limitations and their implications for the findings of the study. The third section moves on to situate the conclusions within the wider implications they present for research into children's geographies in general, and for further understanding Kampala street children. Finally, the chapter concludes by exploring areas for further research.

9.2 Summary of the principal research findings

9.2.1 Situating the study

In order to fulfil the proposed research, it was necessary to situate the study. Chapters 1 and 2 considered four literatures which culminated in a conceptualisation of street child geographies: theories of childhood; children's geographies; street children; and theories of the street. By considering childhood as socially constructed and viewing children as essential social actors (Hardman, 1973; James *et al.*, 1998; Jenks, 1996; Prout and James, 1990), geographical as well as social research was thought to be important for developing an understanding of street children's survival strategies. Street children's geographical location in the street, or urban public space (Hecht, 1995), sets them apart as undergoing a unique childhood experience. The cityscape is therefore particularly important for their lifeworlds.

However, situating children within geographical research as independent actors is a relatively recent shift in focus within the discipline which has led to researchers calling for more work to be conducted in this area (Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Matthews *et al.*, 1999a). By developing an understanding of children's geographies, the importance of place can be drawn out as a method of celebrating the

multiple childhoods that exist within different socio-spatial realms such as the home, school and street. However, as Chapter 1 has demonstrated, much of this work has focused on children in Western societies with less attention given to cross-cultural experiences. Given that street children are experiencing a particularly visible existence in the public realm it was envisaged that their geographies would provide a unique perspective on children's survival strategies. Furthermore, by examining the street as a social space, made up of various social actors (Massey, 1994), it was illustrated that street children, by contradicting the accepted behaviours of the street were positioned 'out of place' in the urban environment (Connolly and Ennew, 1996; Cresswell, 1996). This 'out of placeness' was noted to be based on adultist notions of children as angels and devils, based on Appollonian and Dionysian theories of childhood, rather than viewing children as essential social actors. Therefore, it is how street children deal with, and react to, this out of placeness that was considered interesting.

Chapter 2 developed a conceptualisation of street child geographies (Figure 2.1) which comprised two parts. First, at a wider geographical level, it was suggested that spatiality is important in understanding the reasons for children making the decision to take to the streets, set within wider familial and socio-economic environments. Second, the focus narrowed to consider street children's experiences within the urban environment. This illustrated that their socio-spatial survival strategies were the result of an inter-play between the children themselves, other social actors in the street and the physical layout of the city. From this theoretical position, an appropriate methodology was devised based on a participatory, multi-method approach. This was especially important for involving street children both in the research process and design (Ennew, 1994a). Based on Bemak's (1996) 'street researcher' it was considered important to work with the children, rather than impose a research strategy upon them. This was important for developing interest in the research and to utilise the children's knowledge and skills. Through this it was felt that a greater insight into street child geographies in Kampala could be obtained. The remainder of the thesis drew upon this conceptualisation and methodological selection, in order to develop an understanding of the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment.

9.2.2 Realising the research aims

The proposed research process was demarcated by four aims, as follows:

1. To investigate, socially and spatially, the reasons why street children take to the streets in Uganda.
2. To establish and justify the use of urban space by full-time, city centre street children.
3. To determine the relationship between full-time, city centre street children and other street users with respect to the effects on socio-spatial patterns and processes.

4. To examine street children's interaction with, and changing use of, the urban environment over time.

Although methodological development was not an aim of the study, its importance became apparent early on in the research process. Therefore, prior to and during fieldwork, careful consideration was given to ensuring the appropriateness of the methods used. By employing a participatory, child-centred strategy several activities were implemented and carried out. However, as some of the methods used were less well known in work with street children, it was considered necessary to examine their usefulness. This was particularly the case for visual methods which, it was discovered, have specific strengths. Although the images produced were important for understanding street child geographies, the visual methods were also tested for their ability to elicit oral description. Photo diaries were noted to be most useful because the clarity of the images aids better memory recall. A more detailed discussion is contained in Young and Barrett (forthcoming 2001). Despite not being an important aim of this research, devising an appropriate methodology was central to fully realising each of the main aims. By taking each one sequentially, the main findings discussed throughout the thesis will be summarised, bringing out the issues raised.

investigating street children

Chapter 4 essentially dealt with investigating the reasons why street children take to the streets in Uganda by undertaking a three-pronged approach. Initially a spatial approach was embarked upon which outlined the origins of street children in Kampala, Jinja and Mbale. From the visual representations of these findings (Figures 4.1 to 4.3), it was noted that most children were coming from the rural areas in immediate proximity to these urban centres, suggesting a geographical influence on the decision to take to the streets. However, social influences could not be ignored and the chapter went on to examine children's personal reasons for engaging in street survival. Within Kampala, mistreatment, economic poverty and parental death were particularly highlighted both through census information and children's drawings. These findings equated to the greater structural forces operating within many African societies identified by Harper and Marcus (2000) as civil conflict, macro-economic policy and HIV/AIDS.

By drawing these three aspects together, the chapter concluded with an analysis of the factors impinging on children taking to the streets. However, although poverty-related factors appeared to be highly important in influencing the creation of street children, spatial proximity also acted as a catalyst. Children from more remote rural regions were not seen to be travelling great distances to urban areas. However, those areas which illuminated the gap between urban and rural populations were noted to produce a greater number of street children. With respect to Kampala the situation was complicated further.

Being the capital city, street children were noted to move between towns looking for excitement, and therefore ultimately ending up in Kampala. Through this analysis at the national level, geography was illustrated to play an important part in understanding street child origins.

the place of street children

The remainder of the thesis concentrated on street child geographies within the more localised level of the urban landscape. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 concentrated on aims two and three investigating the spatial and social interactions of street children in the city. Chapter 5 demonstrated that there are five main criteria on which street children based their every-day survival namely: work; eating; washing; sleep; and leisure. Each of these aspects of daily life were illustrated to produce specific geographies developed by the street children to create their own survival opportunities. The individuality of the street children in Kampala was highlighted by the plethora of spaces used and the resourceful use of the cityscape. This elucidated the importance of viewing children as independent actors, shaping their own lives, and further illustrated the social construction that has come to be known as childhood, given that the level of diversity was immense between street child experiences.

From this, several conclusions can be reached. Specific places in the city, used for income generation activities, whether legal employment or illegal begging and stealing, were demonstrated as especially lucrative. Crowded areas provided the greatest opportunities. For other activities more 'hidden' locations prevailed. Washing, in particular, was considered a private activity and therefore the children created niches that were out of reach of the public gaze, yet still providing access to relatively clean water. Eating and leisure activities provided a mix of spaces depending on whether the activities equated with the accepted behaviours of society. For example, eating at a 'hotel' was an accepted behaviour and conducted in full view of other social actors, whereas as eating from skips was confined to more marginal locations. The same was true for leisure where illegal activities were undertaken in hidden and out of sight localities. Sleep spaces again dominated more marginal locations given that sleeping in the urban environment is considered to be an 'out of place' activity. However, after dark when the city shut down for the night, more prominent locations could be converted to street child spaces.

This discussion of street children's use of the cityscape, illustrated that age, gender and individual preference determined each child's use of space as different groups impinged upon different types of space. For example, the younger boys were more likely to engage in begging on the street, playing and washing at Beirut and eating from skips, while the older boys were more likely to be involved in illegal or physical activities and spend much of their time out of sight from the city public. Girls, in comparison, were rarely involved

in income generation activities, relying more on their boyfriends for survival. Although Chapter 5 demonstrated the individuality of street children, and the importance of their independent choices in shaping their lives, Chapter 6 moved on to examine the impact of Kampala's social society and determine how other street users influenced the socio-spatial survival strategies of street children.

Chapter 6 considered the interactions street children have with other street users for each of the survival criteria. The level of interaction was inherently based on the type of activity with which street children engaged and therefore fluctuated throughout the day. Work-based relationships were the most interactive. For legal activities, which resulted in reciprocal relations being developed, the interactions between street children and other street users was generally favourable. However, when outsiders became the victims of theft or begging, they reacted harshly towards the children. In such cases the children were able to influence members of the public and independent street workers by harassing them and stealing from them. This created antagonistic relations with law enforcement officers, which in turn affected the street children's use of the cityscape, as a strategy to avoid arrest or reprimand.

Other aspects of street children's daily survival strategies involved much less interaction, particularly private activities such as washing and sleeping. In the latter instance however, interaction sometimes occurred with children relying on security guards for protection in case they were abused by other street users. This was particularly the case for the girls. In terms of eating, public places were occasionally frequented if the children first bathed and behaved well. Even more marginal eating spaces depended on other actors, as the children waited for food to be dumped in the skips. Finally, leisure activities were noted to produce the greatest influence by other street users as often conditions would be placed on the children if they wanted to frequent a particular video hall or disco, such as being well behaved and clean. The result was a complex mix of influences which impacted upon street children's use of the city. Although the police, public and working groups were all able to influence street children, in some instances it was noted to be the street children who dominated and instilled fear into members of the public, further demonstrating their ability to take control of their own survival.

Chapter 7 drew the preceding two chapters together by combining the spatial and the social in an effort to understand the place of street children in the urban environment. Although an eclectic mix within the city, each street child had an individual sense of place based on notions of their ethnic and familial 'home' and their depot within the cityscape. Although they develop their own sites of meaning, these are constantly being transformed and updated resulting in the changing location of street child places. It is this temporal nature of street places which results in the continued attachment to romanticised notions of home and region, established to compensate for the lack of concrete attachments to

urban localities. Within Kampala, three types of spatial positioning based on social relations were extracted and illustrated as street child coping mechanisms to their out of placeness: spatial marginalisation, spatial resistance and spatial acceptance.

Retraction into marginalised spaces was discussed as a way of continuing with 'out of place' activities in undisturbed locations. By moving into untouchable spaces, underground spaces and rooftop spaces, the street children effectively removed themselves from the ordinary functions of the city, which consequently allowed them to engage in drug use, gambling, and more private washing and eating activities without encroaching into others' use of the street. Spatial resistance, however, was a different reaction to being out of place in the urban landscape. This involved moving into spaces occupied by other street users and contesting their ordinary functions. Here children encroached upon crowded areas as a way of carrying out illegal activities, such as begging and stealing, which involved the covert participation of other social actors. Similarly, at night, street children resisted the out of place label by dominating much of the cityscape. At this time they were the most populous users of the urban landscape and therefore able to take-over niches which during the day had normal urban functions. This parallels Matthews *et al's* (1998a, 1999b) study of British teenagers who assert their independence on the streets after dark. For street children, spatial resistance gave them a sense of 're-claiming the street', thereby reconfirming their attachments to urban localities.

The final type of spatial use drawn out was spatial acceptance, where street children, by engaging in accepted activities, become legitimised in the street (Lucchini, 1996b). Through undertaking work activities, such as legitimate trading or carrying luggage, the rest of the social street employs and incorporates street children as a normal aspect of city functioning. Furthermore, by conforming to conditions of some leisure establishments and relinquishing some aspects of the street child subculture, they were accepted into community leisure spaces. The result was discussed as a complex street child existence where each child choses to engage with a variety of socio-spatial survival strategies. This embodies itself as an inter-relation between their marginalisation, resistance and acceptance, which children use to negotiate their way through street survival.

life geographies

The final chapter embarked on a discussion of the wider influences on these day-to-day survival strategies both from the micro perspective, highlighting changes in street children's existence and the macro perspective, which considered influences resulting in children moving into, and out of, street life. This concluded the thesis by tackling aim four and engaging with the temporal dimension of street life. The experience of developing place attachments in the city was considered first from the perspective of the newcomer. Here attachments were noted to be made to specific localities based on the

social interactions the newcomer made with other street children. Here individuality was noted to conflict with the street child subculture and conformity noted to come out of a desire to belong, as the newcomer had already relinquished the community and familial existence of village and home.

The chapter then moved on to examine influences which impacted upon street children's micro geographies creating further diversity in the way children survive in the city. Illness, seasonal changes and power relations were all noted to create influences which resulted in some children adapting their use of space and moving into and out of marginal locations. Finally the macro impacts were considered where temporal removal from the streets, through arrest or resettlement, was highlighted to affect street children by drawing them deeper into street subculture or resulted in survival strategies being relinquished or learned. The chapter concluded by illustrating that street children's existence is not only social and spatial but also temporal in nature, resulting in changes to their survival strategies and geographies over the course of their lives on the street.

This thesis demonstrates the complexity of survival strategies employed by street children throughout their time on the streets and illustrates that this is a resourceful existence, whereby children are constantly alert, adapting to changing situations and the behaviour of other social actors. The locality of the street has been highlighted as instrumental in the way individual children in Kampala create a way of living for themselves, reacting to their position in society spatially, through the creation of street child niches, as well as socially, through the adoption and adaptation of the street child subculture. However, as with any research, improvements can only be made through critical analysis of the process conducted, and therefore it is to the limitations of the study that attention will now be turned.

9.3 Limitations of the research

By reflecting on the research process, it is easy to see where improvements could be made. Although the methodological approach was carefully considered, given the implications of conducting cross-cultural research with children, there are several points regarding the research which need greater explanation. Undertaking doctoral research is an individual exercise which is often difficult to justify when embarking on a participatory methodology, given that it has to be a product of the researcher. However, although the initial inspiration for the research was not undertaken in conjunction with the street children, they were included from an early stage and subsequently adapted and changed the research. Had the study been devised by the children, a different direction may have emerged.

Although the implications of the children's methodology have already been discussed in Chapter 3, there are a few points that need to be discussed here. The fluidity of street life meant that it was not possible to work with a particular group of street children as interest in the research process fluctuated, depending on the influences in the wider environment. However, this resulted in a much greater number of children participating. Second, time limitations and the expense and difficulty of acquiring specialist equipment, meant that some research ideas could not be implemented, although a diverse range of oral, visual and written methods were employed. Finally, language difficulties made communication with the children difficult although the researcher did attempt to learn some Luganda, this was far from adequate. Despite this, other non-verbal methods of communication were used and the help of a research assistant proved invaluable.

With regard to the wider methodology, the difficulty in obtaining true and accurate information needs consideration. Although it has been outlined that some personal histories or interviews provided accounts of others' experiences, this was not seen to damage the information gathered. As Berman (2000) argues, it is not the individual personal account which is important for research, but the collective experience. For this reason, non-personal accounts were not considered any less rich. Further, limitations in time meant that information from other street users had to be considered as secondary to the principal research process with the children. This meant that only limited numbers of people could be involved and only on an interview or questionnaire basis as time did not allow for other methods to be employed. However, it was felt more important to spend the greater proportion of the fieldwork period with the children which was beneficial in itself as they were able to identify other users they interacted with. This allowed more in-depth interviews to be conducted with key individuals which, in turn, supported the extensive survey results.

With regard to the research as a whole, it was with regret that time, and the scope of the study, did not allow for greater city-wide, and national research. In the former instance, only full-time city centre children were included; interesting and diverse information regarding street children's use of space may have also been obtained from part-timers and children located in the outskirts of the city. Furthermore, it was not possible to obtain information regarding street child origins from many towns as census surveys could only be employed once rapport with the children had been established and time did not allow for this. Therefore the information concerning street children from Jinja and Mbale, used in Chapter 4, was obtained from NGOs who had conducted their own censuses. For Mbale, the data were obtained at the same time as the Kampala census, with the Jinja information gathered a few months earlier. Despite this, standardisation of the methods used could not be guaranteed.

9.4 Implications of the study

This research has implications for academics studying children's geographies as well as NGOs and policy makers working with street children in Uganda. Given that there has recently been renewed interest in understanding children's geographies, with little attention focused on children from the South, this research has much to contribute to understanding the diversity of children's street-based relationships and use of space. Further, although much research across the social sciences has concentrated on the lives of street children, this has rarely focused on their place within the urban environment. Therefore, this thesis draws attention to, and offers an explanation for, children's spatial survival strategies, an aspect central to those aiming to understand and help street children. The implications of this study for both academics and practitioners will be considered.

9.4.1 Implications for geographical research with children

By returning to Chapter 1, the discussion illuminated the need to diversify research with children cross-culturally both to confirm the notion of childhood as socially constructed and to understand that place matters (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). Further, it was also important to provide a greater interpretation of how use of space is varied across societies, particularly in the South. This thesis has discussed these points.

First, by illustrating the use of space and place in the city by Kampala street children, this research has highlighted the resourceful nature of street children. Through their understanding of the social and spatial environments in which they exist the children demonstrated individual and collective abilities to manipulate and adapt the cityscape spatially, to create street child spaces, and socially, to create a street child subculture. Although considered out of place in the city, which Beazley (1997) calls 'social and spatial apartheid', this thesis has demonstrated that this is not always an enforced position and in fact marginalisation within the urban landscape is an ingenious method, employed by the children, in order to counteract the dominant functions of the city. Therefore, although there are many influences acting upon where children locate, and who they interact with, their individual abilities to seek out a personal existence has illustrated the importance of considering children as social actors and meaning-producing beings in their own right. Cross-culturally this supports the many other studies, although mostly conducted in Western societies, which highlight children's agency as an important part of geographical research (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Holloway and Valentine, 2000).

By situating this research within Kampala, further insights into the importance of place in understanding children's geographies can be determined. The societal differences between Western societies and those located in the South, demonstrate that different types

of childhood experience exist, with street children being one very visible aspect of this. However, Ennew (1996) has further demonstrated that cultural experiences and attitudes towards street children differ across continents and between countries. By focusing on the experiences of street children in Uganda, this thesis has elucidated the importance of conducting place specific research, as differences in attitudes will ultimately influence the choices children make regarding street survival.

9.4.2 Practical implications for work with street children in Uganda

With respect to more practical contributions of this research there are two main points that will be discussed: first, the wider understandings of the origins of street children; and second, the importance of including geographical research in work with street children. Chapter 4 discussed the origins of street children and how wider societal forces impacted upon a child's decision to take to the streets. This information is particularly useful for organisations who principally embark on preventative strategies, hoping to reduce the number of children taking to the streets. This is one of the main aims of Child Restoration Outreach, who were particularly interested in understanding street child origins for the purpose of opening a peripheral centre in order to intervene before children move to Kampala. By adding a spatial dimension to this understanding, this thesis has demonstrated that organisations attempting to reduce the number of children in major towns and cities must divert their attention to the surrounding rural and peri-urban districts, to work with communities in order to solve the greater familial and societal problems that are impacting upon the children.

The innovative methodology devised also had practical contributions to make to NGO work in Kampala. The action-based child centred activities were discussed with, and embarked upon by local organisations undertaking their own research with street children. Finally, organisations have many commitments and therefore limited resources to focus on conducting in-depth research of street child geographies. By implementing such a detailed study into understanding how street children negotiate the cityscape, this thesis, in conjunction with the children themselves, highlighted aspects of street life not previously dealt with. This spatiality of survival strategies is therefore important for providing services to street children within Kampala.

9.5 Recommendations for further work

Finally, bearing the conclusions, limitations and implications already discussed, this research has highlighted several potential avenues for further work. This section will therefore first consider areas of research with street children in Kampala before broadening the scope to consider other avenues for research.

9.5.1 Future research with street children

For this research, it was only possible to focus on one group of street children in Uganda. Within Kampala, research on street child geographies for part-time street children would provide an interesting cross-over between childhood experiences. Their perceptions of place and use of space would not only add to the findings of this thesis, but illuminate the duality of the part-time street child as he or she moves between the different realms of the home, school and street. It is hypothesised that their place in the city would be more a localised and 'hidden' aspect of the urban landscape, legitimised by their work activities. However, their use of space and understanding of the cityscape would be expected to differ from children not engaged in street work and located socially and spatially within the local community.

Street child geographies from outside the city centre would also add a further interesting comparative dimension to the research conducted here. From the small amount of work carried out with children from the outskirts (discussed in Chapter 5), social and spatial differences were noted between them and children located more visibly in the city centre. More detailed work with these children may help to understand this population better, as they are often ignored in street child research because of their less visible presence. Their geographies may differ significantly because of the more community-based environment of the villages and slums located in the outskirts of the city. This may provide an understanding of why some children take to the city centre streets while others remain located in the peripheral areas. Such a comparison may also inform the need for strategies and approaches adopted by NGOs to be locality specific. Furthermore, by including a greater temporal dimension into the research a fuller understanding of the changing nature of street child geographies could be gained. Charting street children's geographies over an extended period of time would elucidate their temporal coping strategies more fully.

Continuing with this theme of researching different groups of street children, it would also be beneficial to consider the attitudes of other street users towards them. If part-time street children and those from the outskirts are envisaged to have different relationships to the spatial street, it is reasonable to suggest that their social relationships will also differ from full-time city centre street children. Therefore, in order to fully understand the place of different groups of street children within the city, a detailed analysis of both their social and spatial survival strategies must be considered.

Moving away from survival in the city, it would be interesting to look at another dimension of street life, namely play and fantasy. Street children spend much of their time engaged in drug use and although leisure was considered in this research,

psychological research examining the spaces occupied by street children while they are engaged in fantasy play or while under the influence of drugs, has not yet been considered. Research understanding the make-believe spaces created and employed by the children may further enhance awareness into how street children deal with life on the city streets.

Broadening the scope of research to the national level, more analysis conducted into the spatial origins of street children for a greater number of towns would help in understanding the complex inter-relation of factors impacting on a child's decision to take to the streets. This would further aid NGOs and government bodies in identifying areas where preventative work is needed in curtailing the number of children seeking alternative survival strategies in towns and cities.

Finally, by undertaking research into street child geographies continentally and cross-continentally, it is envisaged that differences in coping strategies, both social and spatial, would be identified. The nature of mega-cities in the developing world illuminates much greater differences between the rich and poor than is currently apparent in Kampala. Further, the greater number of street children in other cities suggests that contestation may arise over spatial territories as children have to compete for the niches available to them. Interesting comparative work in this area would lead to an understanding of the strategies adopted under different circumstances.

9.5.2 Future research with children

Widening the scope of the study from research with street children to children, there are several areas for further work which can be identified. Children living in difficult circumstances in rural and peri-urban environments may be impacted upon by their own geographies. It would be interesting, and beneficial, to consider their geographies as a way of determining the origins of street children. It may be possible to make connections between use of space and subsequent decision to take to the streets. This would greatly enhance preventative measures employed by NGOs and the government.

Research into children's geographies has paid little attention to children in developing societies. From the few studies conducted (Beazley, 1997, 2000; Katz, 1993, 1994; Punch, 2000; Robson and Ansell, 2000) vast differences in geographies can be identified given the plethora of cultural situations in which they exist. Rather than simply calling for more research with children in developing societies, this study in particular has demonstrated the need to understand the geographies of children located in excluded positions within society. Although street children as a highly visible population attract a great deal of attention from national and international organisations, other excluded children are little understood in terms of the survival strategies they employ. For example, child soldiers

and child-headed households, among others, would also provide interesting case studies in terms of understanding the myriad of childhoods that are experienced world-wide. By examining their place attachments and use of space, their coping strategies could be more fully explored.

9.6 Concluding remarks

This thesis has examined how street children in Kampala survive the city through socio-spatial survival strategies. By understanding childhood as a social construction, which varies across cultures and societies, and by considering children as competent social actors in their own right, this thesis has embarked on a discussion of the place of street children in Kampala's urban environment. The theoretical discussion in Chapters 1 and 2 further informed the methodology used and a participatory approach was adopted throughout the research process. Such an approach was invaluable in developing an understanding of Kampala street children's geographies.

Street children create for themselves unique relationships with the spatial and social environments in the city to seek out alternative survival strategies to those up-held by the wider Kampala society. Through marginalisation, resistance and acceptance, they are able to adapt to changes affecting their lives both over space and time. Although some limitations have been demonstrated by this approach, this study has not only contributed to geographical research with children, but has also drawn attention to the importance of children as meaning-producing beings, even when overtly excluded from society as a whole.

Finally, given that few studies have been conducted in this area, it is hoped that as well as being of interest to researchers into children's geographies and those working with street children, this study will stimulate continued research in this field. Therefore, what is needed is a call for much more research into raising awareness of other excluded child populations, a group often avoided in research, in order to fully understand the extent and variety of coping strategies employed by children the world over.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Letter to police commander

Appendix B

1999 street child census update questionnaire
Law enforcement and the problem of street children as offenders
Interview schedule for general public
Interview schedule for working groups
Interview schedule: other street users
Personal history interview guideline

Appendix C

List of key informants

Appendix A

Dean of School
P V O'Connor
BSc MSc DipEd

Coventry University
Priory Street Coventry CV1 5FB
Telephone 01203 631313
Fax 01203 838793

School of Natural and Environmental Sciences
Direct Line 01203
Direct Fax 01203

Our reference

Your reference

Date 22/03/99

Central Police Station
Kampala

My name is Lorraine Young and I am a PhD research student from Coventry University in the UK. I am currently in Uganda conducting research on the Geography of Street Children in Kampala. This is mainly looking at how the survival strategies of street children are borne out spatially and how this is affected by other street users. For this reason I would to find out how the police interact with street children. I am therefore writing to you to request permission to distribute a short questionnaire to police officers with regard to my research. It will take approximately 10 minutes to complete and will be completely anonymous. I would like to distribute it only to police units within Kampala.

Thank you for your assistance and I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Lorraine Young.

The OCs & All DPCs o/c a extra. Amy-Cyoss 28/3/99

There is no objection. You can go ahead with the questionnaires

!!

Amy-Cyoss 29/3/99.

Appendix B

1999 STREET CHILD CENSUS UPDATE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name of division .....

2. Name of area (depot) .....

3. Sex.....

4. How old are you? .....

5. What is your tribe? .....

6. Where is your home district? .....

7. What is your religion? .....

8. Have you ever been to school?

(a) YES (b) NO

9. If YES, which class? .....

10. How long have you been on the streets? .....

11. Where do you live? .....

12. Why did you leave home? .....

13. What do you do for a living?.....

.....

Name of enumerator .....

Signature .....

Date .....

Law Enforcement and the Problem of Street Children as Offenders

This questionnaire is completely anonymous - no-one will know who has filled it in. It should take approximately 10 minutes to complete.

Instructions: Place a tick (√) in the box ( ) of your choice:

a. First some facts about you (Please tick the appropriate box).

1. Sex male female

2. Age 18 - 24 25 - 34 35 - 49 50 - 64 65+

3. How long have you served as a police officer? _____

b. Now some questions about your work (Please tick the appropriate box/es).

4. Which of the following are duties you perform as a police officer?

Patrolling city	Making arrests	Supporting KCC
Discouraging beggars/idlers	Protecting citizens	Protecting property
Law enforcement	Day patrolling	Night patrolling

5.1 Do you ever have to use force when disciplining an offender?
Yes No

5.2 If yes, please explain your answer_____
_____

6. In which area/areas of the city do you most frequently work?

City centre (CPS)	Katwe	Jinja road	Old Kampala
Kawempe	Kira road	Wandegeya	

c. Now some questions about children (Please tick the appropriate box/es).

7. The following is a list of statements that relate to the definition of a street child. Please tick those boxes you feel are correct.

They sleep on the streets at night	They go home to their parents at night
They all take drugs and steal	They hang idle during the day
Some take drugs and some steal	They are hard workers
There are only boys	They stay in groups
They have their own language	They have behaviour problems
They are helpless	They did not choose to be street children

Those in the city centre are more violent than those in the outskirts of the city

8. The following is a list of characteristics of street children. Tick the box displaying the frequency you agree with:

Street children are:	Always	Sometimes	Never
8.1 Helpful			
8.2 Thieves			
8.2 Useful			
8.3 Dangerous			
8.4 Polite			
8.5 Under the influence of drugs			
8.6 Idle and Disorderly			
8.7 Unruly			
8.8 Hard workers			
8.9 Violent			
8.10 Criminals			
8.11 Affectionate			

9. How many times a day do you discipline street children?

_____

10.1 What crimes are street children arrested for committing?

Personal theft	Disturbing the public	Pick pocketing
Murder/Manslaughter	Assault	Defilement
Breaking and Entering	Armed Robbery	Idle and disorderly
Begging	Theft from cars	Possession of drugs
Consumption of drugs		

10.2 What is the most common crime committed by street children?_____

_____

10.3 In which parts of the city are most crimes committed by street children carried out (please name them)?

_____

_____

10.4 In your own words explain why such places are crime 'trouble spots' with regard to street children_____

_____

11. Have you ever heard of police officers doing any of the following? Please place a tick in the appropriate boxes.

	YES	NO
11.1 Beating street children for stealing		
11.2 Giving street children money		
11.3 Giving street children food		
11.4 Beating street children for using drugs		
11.5 Beating street children who are asleep on the streets		
11.6 Taking sick street children to hospital		
11.7 Helping a street child who has been beaten		
11.8 Helping a street child when they have been robbed		
11.9 Asking street children to move away from a place		
11.10 Arresting street children for stealing		
11.11 Paying a street child's school fees		
11.12 Raping a street child (including girls)		

12. When are street children more involved in illegal and disorderly activities? (Tick one or more boxes if it is appropriate).

Early in the morning	During morning hours	Around midday
During afternoon hours	Early in the evening	Late in the evening
Late at night		

13. Which types of street children cause the most problems for police officers? (Tick more than one box if appropriate).

Those who have no homes and sleep on the streets	Those who take drugs
Those who only come to the streets during the day	Those who steal
Those who do informal jobs (e.g. carrying; sweeping)	Those who beg from the public
Pre-adolescent children	Adolescent children
Girls	Boys

Any other type: please specify_____

d.FINALLY- how strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements: (Circlet the number on the scale which best indicates your feelings:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't really agree	Strongly Disagree	disagree
All street children are a problem to society	1	2	3	4	5
Street children are essential to the economic running of the city	1	2	3	4	5
The high numbers of street children make Kampala unsafe for people during the day	1	2	3	4	5
The high numbers of street children make Kampala unsafe for people at night	1	2	3	4	5
Street children are hard workers and do not commit crimes	1	2	3	4	5
Street children who commit crime must be punished	1	2	3	4	5
Street children are good if shown love and respect	1	2	3	4	5
Only beating ensures a street child will not commit another crime	1	2	3	4	5
Street children are important to crime reduction as they are good informers	1	2	3	4	5
To stop children from coming to the streets it is the duty of police to make street life as unpleasant and difficult as possible	1	2	3	4	5
Street children like to help police catch criminals	1	2	3	4	5
Street children are a disgrace and should be forcibly removed	1	2	3	4	5
It is not possible to discuss with a street child only punishment ensures he/she will not commit another crime	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you very much for your assistance.
It is very much appreciated.

Interview Schedule for General Public

Good morning/afternoon. My name is Lorraine Young and I am conducting some research on street children and wondered if you would be kind enough to spare a few moments of your time and answer a few questions. The interview is entirely anonymous and confidential.

General Information on Street Children

1. Have you ever heard the term "street children"?

☐ Yes ☐ No

2. What, in your opinion, is the definition of a street child?

3. Which places in Kampala city centre can you find street children?

4. Why do you think that they go to each of these places?

5. What are your views on street children? Explain your answer?

Personal Relationship with Street Children

6. Do you come into contact with street children while travelling in this street?

☐ Yes ☐ No

In what ways/why not?

7. Describe the activities street children undertake here and at what times of the day/night.

8. Do you think their are different types of street children?

☐ Yes ☐ No

9. Are they:

- ☐ Full-time
- ☐ Part-time
- ☐ Taking drugs
- ☐ Known to steal
- ☐ Street boys
- ☐ Street girls
- ☐ Children of street families
- ☐ Other. Please specify .....

10. Are they:

- ☐ Helpful
- ☐ Hindrance
- ☐ Neither

Please explain your answer.

11a. If they are helpful do you do anything to encourage their presence?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

In what ways?

11b. If they are a hindrance do you do anything to discourage?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

In what ways?

12. When they are carrying out their activities do you view them as:

- ☐ Street children
- ☐ other customers
- ☐ street workers
- ☐ Other - please specify.....

Please explain your answer.

13. Do you act differently in areas where you know street children can be found?

14. Do you avoid any areas or at particular times of the day or night because street children frequent these areas?

Others Relationship with Street Children

15.Do you think the attitudes of the general public affects where street children locate during the day?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Please explain your answer.

.....

Occupation .....

Gender ☐ Male ☐ Female

Age ☐ 18 - 29 ☐ 30 - 39

☐ 40 - 59 ☐ 60+

Place of interview .....

Interview category .....

Interview Schedule for Working Groups

Good morning/afternoon. My name is Lorraine Young and I am conducting some research on street children and wondered if you would be kind enough to spare a few moments of your time and answer a few questions. The interview is entirely anonymous and confidential.

General Information on Street Children

1. Have you ever heard the term "street children"?

☐ Yes ☐ No

2. What, in your opinion, is the definition of a street child?

3. Which places in Kampala city centre can you find street children?

4. Why do you think that they go to each of these places?

5. What are your views on street children? Explain your answer?

Personal Relationship with Street Children

6. Do you come into contact with street children during your working activities?

☐ Yes ☐ No

In what ways/why not?

7. What activities do street children undertake in this area and at what times of the day/night?

8. Are their different types of street children?

☐ Yes ☐ No

9. Are they:

☐ Full-time ☐ Part-time

☐ Taking drugs ☐ Known to steal

☐ Street boys ☐ Street girls

☐ Children of street families

☐ Other. Please specify .....

10. Are they:

☐ Helpful ☐ Hindrance

☐ Neither

Please explain your answer.

11a. If they are helpful do you do anything to encourage their presence?

☐ Yes ☐ No

In what ways?

11b. If they are a hindrance do you do anything to discourage them?

☐ Yes ☐ No

In what ways?

12. When they are carrying out their activities do you view them as:

☐ Street children ☐ workers ☐ Hawkers/vendor

☐ general public ☐ customers

☐ Other - please specify.....

Please explain your answer.

Others Relationship with Street Children

13. Does the presence/absence of street children in this area affect your business in any way?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, in what ways?

.....

Occupation .....

Gender ☐ Male ☐ Female

Age ☐ 18 to 29 ☐ 30 to 39

☐ 40 to 59 ☐ 60 +

Place of interview .....

Interview category .....

Interview schedule: other street users

Introduction:

My name is Lorraine and I am a student from the UK doing research on street children. I have spent time interacting with them but would also like to learn about the views of those they have regular contact with. Thank you for agreeing to give your opinions but would like to assure you that you will remain anonymous and no records of the interview will be kept with your name on them if you so desire. For purposes of accurately recording the information do you mind if I tape the interview?

General Information:

1) Can I first ask you if you have heard the term "street children"?

if yes, find out:
a) how you define a street child?
b) are there different kinds of street kids
(probe on how are they different and why there are different types)
c) have they changed over the years?

2) What do you think are the reasons bringing these children to the streets?
(probe until they have exhausted the topic)

a) have these reasons changed over the years?
b) in what way?
c) can you explain why?

3) What kinds of places do street children spend their time?
(probe for a list of places and for each one ask the following - do NOT suggest places)

a) What do they do in that place?
b) Why do you think they do that there?

Relations with Street Children:

4) Do you ever have contact with street children?

if yes, find out about:
a) in what way?
b) when do you have contact?
c) what is the purpose of the contact (why)?
d) are there particular children or types of children - why?

if no, ask:
a) why not?

5) How do these children behave in your presence?
(prompt with good, bad, disruptive, helpful...)

a) why do they behave in that way?

6) Do you help street children?

if yes, find out:
a) in what way?
b) why?
c) are there particular one or types that you help? why?

if no, ask:
a) why not?

7) Do you discourage street children?

if yes, find out:
a) in what way?
b) why?
c) particular ones or types? why?

if no, ask:
a) why not?

8) Take respondents through the list and ask them if they ever see street children in a particular way (i.e. this I what they think about that child). Probe to find out what the situation is, why and particular types if any.

a) workers
b) children form the community
c) street children
d) thieves
e) idlers
f) drug addicts
g) customers
h) members of the public
i) anything else?
j) which one do they feel most? why?

9) Do street children affect your business in any way?

if yes, find out:
a) is this good or bad?
b) what way?
c) what do you do about it, if anything

<u>Others Relations with Street Children:</u>

10) Do you think how people act towards street children affects where they go in the city?

if yes, find out:
a) in what way?
(probe about different places and how people affect their movements)

11) Thank you very much for helping us and giving up your time. Can I finally ask you if there is any aspect of your experience with street children that has not been covered in this interview?

Personal history interview guideline

Section 1:
Family background

What is your name?
How old are you?
Would you prefer to use a false name for the prupose of this research?
Where were you born?
What was your family make-up?

Section 2:
Leaving home you

Describe the events and/or changes that took place up to deciding to leave home.
How did you feel?
What was the main factor in making you leave?
How did you go about planning and leaving home?
Why did you choose togo to Kampala?

Section 3:
Arrival

How did you feel when you arrived in Kampala?
What did you do initially?
How did you meet your friends?
Which place/depot did you live?
What was it like being part of a group?
Were there any group secrets or initiations rituals?

Section 4:
Survival

How did you live?
How did you get money?
How did you get food?
Did you take drugs - what/why?
What entertainment did you enjoy? where?
Did your group have any distinguishing features?
Did you move between places and groups?
Were you ever arrested?
Did you paerticipate in stealing?
Did you become involved with any NGOs?

Section 5:
Present day

What is life like for you now?
Where do you live?
How do you survive?
How do you feel about your life on the streets?
What are you hopes for the future?

Appendix C

The following list of informants names have been removed. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University